KARL MARX

HIS LIFE & WORK

BY JOHN SPARGO



Karl Marx's House in Bruckegass, Trier.

reflections upon our continental comrades are not likely to promote feelings of international fraternity.

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About two years ago the German Social-Democratic Party purchased the old house in Bruckegass, Trier, where Karl Marx was born on May 5th, 1818, with the object of turning it into a Marx Museum and Archives. The house has been undergoing thorough repairs and re-decoration, and has now been restored as it was in 1818. Wall decorations, panellings and carvings have been carefully preserved and made good where necessary, and the garden at the back of the house has been dealt with in the same fashion. Everything associated with the life and work of Marx will be collected and housed there. There will be a Socialist Library, with reading rooms, lecture rooms, and conference hall. It was stated a few months ago in the *Peuple*, of Brussels, that the Museum would be open on the 5th of last month, but I have not seen any announcement of the official opening.

H. W. Lee.

KARL MARX:
His Life and Work

BOOKS BY JOHN SPARGO

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Socialism, A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles

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HIS LIFE AND WORK

BY JOHN SPARGO

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TO

MARY ROBINSON SANFORD

A GREETING FROM "NESTLEDOWN" TO "TUCKED-AWAY"

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

Professor Veblen, one of the ablest and most brilliant of our American sociologists, has very well said: "The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears to-day is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called Socialistic movement, and no one is seriously concerned to criticise or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of 'Socialists.'"

It will, I think, be conceded that this is a remarkable tribute to the influence and power of a great thinker. It is not a small thing that an international political movement with many millions of adherents should be dominated so far by the intellect of one man as commonly to be called by his name; for "Socialism" and "Marxism" have become interchangeable as practically synonymous terms. In the great European countries where Socialism is a power politically, the movement is almost wholly dominated and inspired by the thought and deed of Marx. In the United States, where there is a growing Socialist movement which is generally recognized as being much bigger and stronger than its political manifestation, Socialism and Marxism are synonyms. In China and Japan the works of Marx are eagerly read and studied by those who challenge the existing order and who dream of change. In Australia Marxian shibboleths are inscribed upon the red banners of a discontented proletariat. In Africa there are Karl Marx clubs, from which emanates the spirit of revolution.

In view of these facts, one need not be a Socialist in order to feel an interest in the man whose work and personality have contributed so much to the development of modern political and social thought and history. Whether Socialism proves to be, in the long span of centuries, good or evil, a blessing to men

or a curse, Karl Marx must always be an object of interest, as one of the great world-figures of immortal memory. In ever-increasing numbers, as the years go by, thoughtful men and women will find the same interest in studying the life and work of Marx that they do in studying the life and work of Cromwell, of Wesley, or of Darwin, to name three immortal world-figures of vastly divergent types.

Singularly little is known of Karl Marx, even by his most ardent followers. They know his work, having studied his *Das Kapital* with the devotion and earnestness with which an older generation of Christians studied the Bible, but they are very generally unacquainted with the man himself. Outside of the Socialist movement, knowledge even of his work is confined to a relatively small number of professed students of such matters. Even they know little of the man as distinct from the philosopher and the economist. The average man knows nothing very definite concerning either Marx or his theories.

Although more than twenty-six years have elapsed since the death of Marx, there is no adequate biography of him in any language. Most of the histories of Socialism have devoted chapters to his life, and most of the standard encyclopædias have biographical articles devoted to the man and his work. Speaking for the moment only of those published in England and America, it must be said that these chapters and articles in encyclopædias are, almost without exception, full of the most astonishing errors. The Germans have done much better.

There is a little volume of *Memoirs* of Marx by his friend Liebknecht, which has been translated into English and widely circulated in this country and in England. This book of tender and affectionate reminiscences, while true in spirit, is sadly inaccurate in details, and almost trivial when considered as an account of the man and his work. Its value to the student and to the biographer is inestimable, but it is not — and was not intended to be — a biography of Marx.

Nearly thirteen years have passed since first I felt the need of a trustworthy and comprehensive account of the life and work of Karl Marx, and determined to meet that need unless some worthier and more efficient hand should first undertake the task and fulfil it. I began at once to collect materials for a biography, and during the years that have elapsed — years which, owing to my activity in the Socialist movement, have been almost wholly bereft of leisure — that work has been continued with as much persistence and energy as possible under the circumstances.

And now that I have finished what has been for me a labour of love and joy, it is perhaps prudent for me to say that this volume must not be regarded as being the final, authorized biography of Marx. Doubtless some better-equipped German writer, such as Franz Mehring or Eduard Bernstein, will some day give us the adequate and full biography for which the world waits. My own aim has been to furnish the reader with a sympathetic and interpretative account of the life of a man who was not only a profound and brilliant thinker, but a lovable and interesting personality.

Concerning the book itself I venture to add a further word of explanation. Believing that the value of the work to the general reader would be greatly enhanced thereby, I have gone with more or less detail into various matters, an understanding of which seemed to me to be necessary to a comprehension of Marx's thought and deed. For example: In the chapters on the International Working Men's Association a rather extended account of the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune seemed to be essential to a correct understanding of the position taken by Marx in formulating the policy of that association, and of the causes of its decline. I have not hesitated, therefore, to sacrifice literary unity to the larger value of practical utility. My aim has been to give an interpretation of Marx's life and thought, not a mere chronology of events.

No man in modern times has been more grievously misunderstood and misrepresented than Karl Marx — alike by those who hate, and by those who love his name. For Socialists no less than non-Socialists, therefore, it is very likely that these pages will be found to contain many surprises; that the Marx here revealed will be wholly unlike the Marx they have either loved or hated, according to their point of view. Confident that the portrait of the man here drawn is substantially true, it is my hope that the book will make Marx more real to my Socialist comrades and to students of Socialism generally, as well as to that larger public which finds an intelligent understanding of Socialism to be a necessary part of its mental equipment in these days when there is so much "Socialism in the air." If it measurably succeeds in fulfilling that hope, I shall be more than content.

Of course I am largely indebted to the work of Franz Mehring, the German Socialist historian. Whoever would write of the life of Marx must perforce draw from the rich mines of information contained in Mehring's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozial-demokratie,* and his introduction to and comments upon the literary remains of Marx, Engels and Lassalle — *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle.* I have drawn freely, also, from the great wealth of information contained in the files of various German, French and English Socialist journals, of which the *Neue Zeit* must be specially mentioned. From Eduard Bernstein's admirable little biography of Lassalle I have also drawn some very valuable information.

It is not so easy to make acknowledgment of the vast amount of personal assistance received during the past ten years, without which this work could never have been written. Some of those to whom I am most indebted, who knew Marx more or less intimately, have passed beyond reach of this expression of my thanks and entered upon their hard-earned rest. I can

only mention here: W. Harrison Riley, friend of Marx and editor of the *International Herald,* who died a few years ago at Lunenburg, Massachusetts; the late Herman Jung, a native of Switzerland, for many years the friend and confidant of Marx, who was brutally murdered in London by a man whom, with characteristic generosity, he had befriended; Wilhelm Fritzsche, one of the first Socialists to be elected to the German Reichstag; and M. Maltman Barrie, a London journalist, who was a member of the International Working Men's Association and an intimate friend of Marx and Engels through that period of Marx's life which was most troubled — the period of the decline of the International. To these men I owe more, perhaps, than to any others of the "silent host," but there are in that great host many others to whom my thanks are equally due.

I am also deeply indebted to Madame Laura Lafargue, the only surviving child of Marx, for generous advice and assistance at every stage of my work; to Karl Kautsky, editor of *Die Neue Zeit;* Frederick Lessner, whose name will be frequently encountered in these pages; Ernest Belfort Bax, the English Socialist writer; Herman Schlueter, of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung;* Morris Hillquit, author of *Socialism in Theory and Practice;* L. B. Boudin, author of *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx;* and W. J. Ghent, of the Rand School of Social Science, for many valuable suggestions and courtesies. To Mr. Simon O. Pollock, author of *The Russian Bastile,* and Dr. S. A. Ingerman, I am specially indebted for information concerning Russian affairs and the great Russian Anarchist, Michael Bakunin.

For assistance in translation and research, and in preparing the book for the press, I am indebted to Mrs. Theresa Malkiel, of Yonkers; Miss Bertha Eger, of New York; Mrs. Meta L. Stern, of New York; Mr. Walter Kruesi, of Boston; Mr. Rufus W. Weeks, of New York; Miss Kate Dombronyi, of New

York; and Miss Rosa Laddon, of the Rand School of Social Science, New York City. Finally, I am deeply indebted to my wife for much devoted and faithful cooperation.

J. S.

"Nestledown,"
Bennington Center, Vt.,
October, 1909.

KARL MARX

I

HIS PARENTS

Treves, or Trier, as it is now called, is a town in the western part of Germany, in the Province of the Rhine. It is perhaps the oldest of all German towns, among the objects of its civic pride being some ancient ruins which remain as monuments of the days when it was a not unimportant centre of Roman civilization. Here, in a dwelling of modest comfort — Bruckergasse, 664 — there dwelt, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Heinrich Marx and his wife, and here, on Tuesday, May the fifth, 1818, their second child, Karl Heinrich Marx, the future Socialist philosopher and economist, was born. Of all their many children Karl alone achieved the distinction of fame.

At the time of the birth of this child Trier had been under Prussian rule barely four years, having been taken from France as a result of the crushing defeat of Napoleon I in the long struggle which culminated in his abdication at Fontainebleau and the restoration of Louis XVII. Under the French régime the whole Rhineland had benefited in no slight degree from the generous liberalizing ideas of France. The French Revolution had done much to break down oppressive mediæval laws and customs. In particular, it had relieved the Jews from a great deal of persecution and oppression. It was due to the liberal spirit of France that in the cities and towns of the prov-

ince the Jews were enabled to enjoy equal opportunities for education and culture with their Christian neighbours.

With the establishment of Prussian rule a new spirit was bound to arise, a spirit of Prussian patriotism, carefully and cunningly fostered by the Prussian officials. The consummation of the "Holy Alliance," devised by Alexander I of Russia, naturally had the effect of intensifying that spirit, for was not the Alliance the creation of a triple, unconquerable power? Had not William III of Prussia entered into an alliance for mutual support and protection with Alexander I of Russia and Francis of Austria — an alliance which secured Prussia against assault? The fierce denunciation of the Holy Alliance in England and upon the Continent was, naturally, as fuel to the fire of the new patriotism.

Heinrich Marx was a Jewish lawyer of good social standing in Trier, a man of great talent and learning. The life of his famous son was dominated by a strong love for his father, long after the latter's death, and judging by what is known of him, especially by some letters to Karl, the love was well merited. Heinrich Marx, the lawyer who afterward became a justice of the peace, was a man of rare gifts of mind and heart. His mentality presents a curiously complex picture of liberalism and conservatism, of romantic idealism and cold practicality. Upon the one hand, he was a Liberal of the Liberals, a typical intellectual product of eighteenth century French liberalism. He was a disciple of Voltaire and Leibnitz, and knew by heart the writings of Rousseau, Locke and Lessing. Upon the other hand, liberal as he was in his philosophy, Heinrich Marx was conservative — even a reactionary — in politics. A certain prudent regard for his economic interests may have tended to increase his Prussian patriotism somewhat, it certainly grew more ardent after he attained official position. Nevertheless, it is very evident from some remarkable letters to Karl, during the latter's university days, that his patriotism was real and sincere, and not merely a matter of

prudence and convenience to the practical and thrifty lawyer. Thus we find him writing to Karl, importuning him to think above all else of the monarchy, and of Prussia's honor, and arguing at great length that an absolute monarchy was necessary to the maintenance of the state. In short, the Jewish lawyer and official was a loyalist patriot of the type beloved by the Prussian government. He was greatly distressed when young Karl manifested his radical tendencies and showed himself to be possessed of the " demon " of revolt.

This strange mixture of Voltairean philosopher and Prussian patriot in the Jewish lawyer may help us to understand an event in his career which has been the theme of much discussion and speculation. In 1824, when Karl was six years old, the disciple of Voltaire embraced Christianity, and, with his wife and children, was baptized. There is a popular legend to the effect that this acceptance of the Christian religion was purely nominal and compulsory, that it was due to an official edict by the Prussian government compelling all Jews holding official positions or engaged in the learned professions to forego these or formally renounce Judaism and adopt the Christian religion.

The story appears in many works relating to Marx, and in most of the encyclopædias. Liebknecht, long the intimate associate of Karl Marx, tells it in his charmingly tender, but often inaccurate, *Memoirs,*[1] and is supported by the testimony of Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling.[2] Liebknecht, with the freedom of a true literary artist, adds a romantic touch to the story by making it appear that the boy Karl felt keenly this insult to his race of which he was so proud, that he made reply to it in his youthful pamphlet on the Hebrew question, and that " his whole life was a reply and was the revenge." The mental process by which Liebknecht concluded

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[1] *Karl Marx. Biographical Memoirs,* by Wilhelm Liebknecht, pp. 12–13.

[2] Idem, p. 164.

that Marx's pamphlet on the Hebrew question merits this description of it, will not, I think, be disclosed by a study of the pamphlet itself. Indeed, it is hardly too much to claim for it that the pamphlet shows its author to have taken a precisely opposite view of the matter. Throughout his life, Karl Marx, far from regretting the fact that his parents abandoned Judaism and embraced Christianity, was grateful to them for freeing him from the yoke of Judaism, which, he felt, was a great hindrance to many revolutionists of his race, including his friends, Heinrich Heine and Ferdinand Lassalle.

The story has been repeated in various forms by many writers, including Adler [1] in Germany, Dawson [2] and Kirkup [3] in England, and by the present writer.[4] The story is a good one, and it is rather a pity to discredit it. In the interests of historical accuracy, however, it is necessary to proclaim that it is without foundation in fact. Mehring and other German authorities have completely exposed its mythical nature. That Heinrich Marx and his gentle wife renounced Judaism and adopted the Christian religion was due to no official edict, or other compulsion, but to their own free will. Strange and incomprehensible as this may at first appear, there was in fact every reason why the disciple of Voltaire, just because he was such, should have taken that course.

The legal emancipation of the Jews which was effected by the French Revolution did not carry with it the emancipation of the Jew from himself, that is, it did not result in the moral emancipation of the Jews. They kept their manners, customs and prejudices. Bernard Lazare [5] has very justly observed

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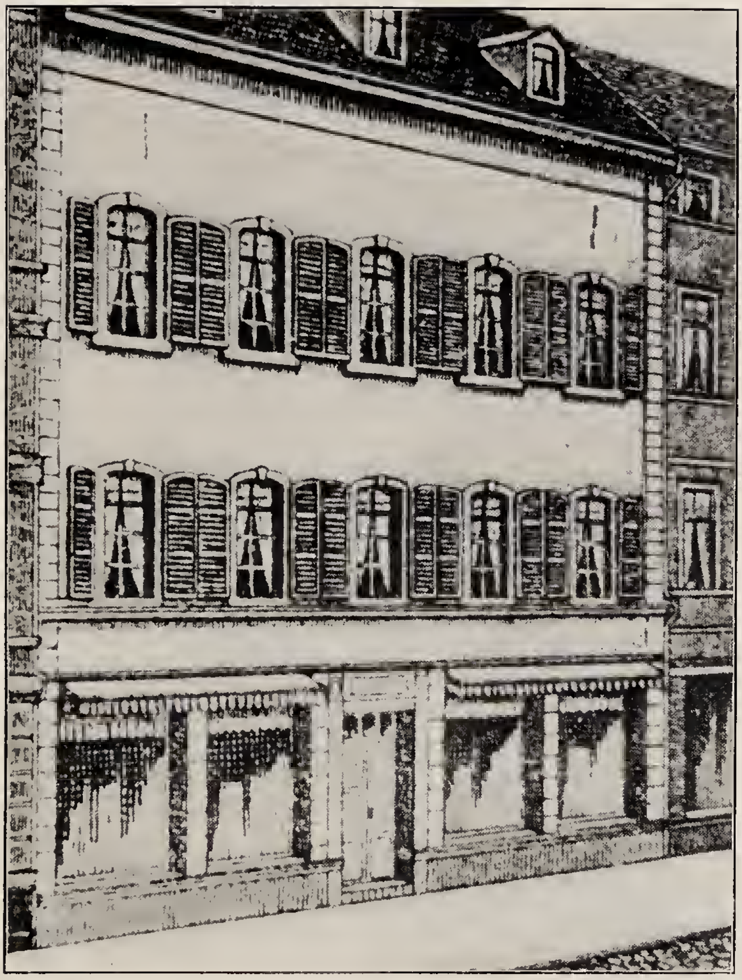
[1] G. Adler, *Die Grundlagen der Karl Marx'schen Kritik der bestehenden Volkswirthschaft* (1887), p. 226.

[2] W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle,* p. 91.

[3] T. Kirkup, *A Primer of Socialism* (1908), p. 48.

[4] John Spargo, *Socialism, A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles* (First Edition, 1906). The error is corrected in the new edition (Macmillan, 1909).

[5] *Antisemitism, Its History and Causes,* by Bernard Lazare, p. 180.



Karl Marx's Birthplace

that the repeal of the oppressive legislative restrictions of many centuries could not immediately erase the moral effects of such legislation from the character of its victims. Just as their fellow citizens of Christian belief kept many of their prejudices, so did the Jews. Happy in their emancipation, they kept to themselves much as before, continuing to be *strangers* in the land where they were citizens. Doubtless, there was some tendency to arrogance; certainly there was much suspicion and distrust among them. The efforts of the leaders of Judaism — excepting, of course, the small minority of reformers — were to preserve the race from contamination and possible assimilation, much as in the United States to-day. This, naturally, retarded the moral emancipation of the Jews and, at the same time, gave to Judaism that narrow, reactionary character which later cost it so many of its brightest and noblest sons.

Economically, the Jews, for the most part, remained what they were, a race of money lenders and usurers. For centuries they had been practically debarred from other occupations until these had become an almost inseparable feature of their racial character. The Jew to-day, in all lands, suffers more or less from the same limitation; at that period, in Germany, the limitation was more strongly marked. The rule of the Jew over the small landowners developed into an economic tyranny of the most odious and oppressive type, constantly provoking wild outbursts of anti-Semitism. Wonderful indeed was the wisdom of the young Karl Marx when, in his study of the Hebrew question, he declared that the emancipation of the Jew, and of society from the Jew, required the emancipation of the Jew from himself, from this "practical Judaism"— from money and business.

So oppressive had this practical Judaism become that in 1806, Napoleon, who could not be suspected of anti-Semitism, had to step in and interfere on behalf of the protesting debtor class of the Rhine Province. In the Decree of Suspension, issued on May 30 of that year, he suspended the execution

of a large number of judicial decisions against debtors who had fallen into the clutches of the money lenders, and in a preamble of great seriousness pointed out the urgency of reviving " among those subjects of our country who profess the Jewish religion, the sentiments of civic morals, which have unfortunately been deadened with a great number of them through the state of humiliation in which they have languished too long, and which it is not our intention to maintain and renew." Nothing could well be more sympathetic than this fine appeal to the leaders of the Jewish people. Napoleon went further, and called to his aid many prominent Jews, for the purpose of " considering the means of improving the condition of the Jewish nation and spreading a taste for the useful arts and professions among its members." This Assembly of Notable Jews led to the appointment, by Napoleon, of a Great Sanhedrin for the purpose of giving religious authority to the results of the deliberations of the Assembly. This august body, composed of the most intelligent leaders of the minority, recognized the evils, and issued a declaration to the effect that while the religious provisions of the Mosaic law were not subject to change, the political provisions were for the Jews when they were an autonomous nation, and were not binding upon Jews scattered among the nations of the earth. It forbade discrimination between Jews and Christians in the matter of loans and prohibited usury. If edict or legislation could have accomplished such a result, the Jewish question as an economic problem would have been solved. Of course, that could not be while the social conditions which underlay the whole problem remained untouched.

This long digression seems to be necessary in order that we may understand the provisions of the Code Napoleon of March 17, 1808, which, issued provisionally for a period of ten years, fixed the status of the Jews in the Rhine Province, without which understanding the " apostasy " of Heinrich Marx and many others of his race must be unintelligible. This

code did not in any manner curtail the religious liberties of the Jews. It established a system of licenses for those Jews who desired to engage in commerce — personal licenses to be issued by the magistrates; it forbade Alsatian Jews to enter other *departments* without permission, which was granted only upon condition that they would engage in agriculture; it decreed that no mortgages could be taken without special authorization — this to break up, if possible, the usury which was oppressing the small landowners. It was in no sense oppressive to the Jews as a race, though it did impose serious and absolutely necessary restrictions upon a certain *class* of Jews. It was an economic question, pure and simple. At the time Heinrich Marx " went over " to the Christian religion the Jews in Trier and the rest of the Rhine Province were subject to some mild extortion at the hands of petty grafters among the Prussian officials, but they had not much in the way of persecution to complain of — at least, not on the part of the government. Of course, through the position which he held, Heinrich Marx was himself placed beyond even that wrong. His intense patriotism is itself the best assurance that he did not feel himself persecuted, as he would have done had he been driven to change his religious faith by official edict.

The fact is that, as he told his son Karl, Heinrich Marx forsook Judaism and became a Christian as a matter of conviction. He believed in God, he told his son, as Newton, Locke, Leibnitz, and others, had done before him. At the same time, there is no evidence that his " conversion " to Christianity implied an acceptance of the historic and distinctive beliefs of Christendom, the Deity of Jesus and the doctrine of the Atonement, nor are we justified in assuming such acceptance. It is far more likely that he embraced Christianity from sociological rather than theological convictions. Like that other great Jew whose " apostasy " has been the subject of almost endless discussion, Heinrich Heine, he seems to have looked upon Protestantism as being something more than the

intellectual and spiritual protest of religious enthusiasts against dogma and ecclesiastical authority; as being in fact a movement for intellectual freedom and general progress.

This view of Protestantism, it will be remembered by those familiar with his life, inspired Heine's superb tribute to Luther, "to whom we owe the preservation of our noblest good, and by whose merits we live to-day," and caused him to describe Luther's magnificent hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,* as "the Marseillaise of the Reformation." Torn as we know he was by the fierce struggle he had to undergo before he could make up his mind to give a nominal allegiance to Christianity, Heine could not hide from himself the fact that Judaism was narrow, reactionary and sordid, and that when his coreligionists turned to Christianity, in its Protestant form, they were taking "a step toward European culture."

Protestantism, then, having outgrown its fanatical phase, was tolerant and progressive, whereas Judaism had become intolerant and reactionary. Reflecting upon this, and remembering that Christianity had thus been able to tolerate a Leibnitz, while Judaism had been unable to tolerate a Spinoza, the disciple of Voltaire and Leibnitz took the step away from Judaism in consequence of a deep-seated conviction that the interests of his race, and of the nation in general, could be best served by the breaking down of an intolerant ecclesiastical system which was a reactionary force in the life of the nation and of his race. Above all, we must remember that Heinrich Marx had far outgrown Judaism in his culture, so that its distinctive features no longer possessed any meaning for him. In such matters, he was much more nearly a typical Frenchman than a typical Jew.

While these were probably the decisive reasons which led him to take the step, it may well be, as Mehring suggests, that there were other factors which exercised some influence, perhaps hastening the step. In the same year, 1824, some hundreds of his coreligionists turned from Judaism to Christianity,

and it is little likely that they were all actuated by the ideas set forth above. There was a financial crisis in the early twenties which brought many Gentiles, especially among the landowning class, to grief and compelled them to endure the oppressive rule of Jewish money lenders. This ancient cause of anti-Semitism gave rise to a great deal of bitter feeling against the money lenders. Provoked by the usurious extortion of these, it naturally and inevitably extended to many of the race who were not money lenders at all and had nothing in common with them. In the Provinciallandtagen, the Land Assembly of the Rhine Province, for instance, there was a vigorous agitation in 1826 to exclude the Jews from citizenship altogether.

To this cause of anti-Semitism must be added another, the growing and assiduously cultivated Prussian patriotism. As Bernard Lazare very clearly shows,[1] the exaltation of patriotism necessarily involved a return to anti-Judaism. It was the march of Napoleon which brought hope and liberation to the Jews and broke the barriers of the Ghetto. Napoleon became the hero and idol of Israel, extolled by the Jews in every city to which he came, and greeted by acclamations of great throngs who felt that the cause of their race and of the Napoleonic eagle was one. France had declared the emancipation of the Jews: what more natural, therefore, than that when the reaction against Napoleon and against France set in it should carry with it a reaction against the idea of justice to the Jew which was a product of the French Revolution? Under Prussian rule, as an offshoot of the reawakened patriotic fires, the ancient religious conception of the State was revived, and prejudice against Judaism was inevitable. Heinrich Marx was, as we have noted, a true Prussian patriot. He was in revolt against a form of economic Judaism, represented by unscrupulous usurers, citizens without civic ties.

The true patronymic of the family seems to have been Mor-

[1] *Antisemitism, Its History and Causes,* by Bernard Lazare, p. 186.

dechai. That name was abandoned by the father of Heinrich, and the name " Marx " adopted in its stead. This Mordechai, grandfather of Karl Marx, was a rabbi, one of a long line of rabbis, unbroken from the sixteenth century until his son, Heinrich, father of Karl Marx, adopted law instead of religion for a career. On his mother's side, also, Karl Marx had a long line of rabbinical ancestors, and it may be, as often suggested, that he owed to this rabbinical ancestry something of that wonderful exegetical power which he displayed in his work.

The mother of Karl Marx, *née* Henriette Pressburg, was born in Holland, the descendant of a family of Hungarian Jews who settled in that country in the early part of the sixteenth century, where the men of the family served as rabbis, generation after generation, for centuries. Like her husband, she was a Christian by conviction. When teased on account of her belief in God, by some of her skeptical friends, she would reply that she " believed in God, not for God's sake, but for her own." [1]

She was a simple, good-natured soul of the domestic type, with no particular intellectual gifts. A careful and affectionate wife, and a patient and wise mother to her large family, Henriette Marx was a good type of the Jewish woman of her class. Being a native of Holland, Dutch was her mother tongue, and she never spoke any other, except a broken German.

Of all her children, Karl alone manifested any special intelligence. While he was a very young child his great intellectuality began to manifest itself, and became a great joy and pride to the fond parents. Like her husband, Mrs. Marx was pained by the radical and revolutionary tendencies which her son early displayed, but whereas the father died when Karl was about twenty years of age, and was thus spared the pain of witnessing the revolutionary activities of his stormy life, and the poverty and martyrdom which these brought upon him,

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[1] Letter to the author from her daughter, Madame Lafargue, Dec. 27th, 1907.

she lived until 1863, all through the worst period of her son's struggle. Thus she lived to know that the name of her child, her bright and happy Karl, was a terror to the governments of Europe; that he had kindled fires of revolt which could not be extinguished by force; that he was hounded from land to land, an exile from his Fatherland, persecuted and feared, but often hungry to the verge of starvation. Even the knowledge that he was a great scholar, acknowledged to be one of the most powerful and original thinkers of his time, could not compensate her for the pain and suffering she was thus obliged to endure.

It was the irony of life that the son who kindled a mighty hope in the hearts of unnumbered thousands of his fellow human beings, a hope that is to-day inspiring millions of those who speak his name with reverence and love, should be able to do that only by destroying his mother's hope and happiness in her son, that every step he took should fill her heart with a great agony.

Henriette Marx was a victim of Nature's harsh, immutable decree: It is a mother's part to weep!

II

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

KARL MARX was exceedingly fortunate in his childhood. To the comfortable circumstances of his family, which the thrift and industry of his self-made father made possible, must be added those exceptional qualities of mind and heart in the father which made him such an admirable parent for such a son. Heinrich Marx might almost be said to have possessed parental genius — a genius which his illustrious son inherited. He was gifted with that rare insight into child nature which enabled him to become the companion of his children. Above all, he was fortunately enabled to appreciate the gifts of the boy Karl, which marked him as one set apart in the family; to understand his strange temperament and the perils to which it exposed him, and thus to guide him with wisdom through some of the most perilous experiences of boyhood and youth. The wisdom of the great philosopher and economist of Socialism was made possible by the wisdom of the conservative lawyer, his father.

The grave lawyer with a passion for philosophic study was not too grave to be an acceptable companion to his children. Perhaps this was because throughout his life he preserved the spirit of romanticism which characterised his youth. Be that as it may, he was the constant playmate and companion of his little ones. He early discerned Karl's marked intellectuality and rejoiced in it. As soon as the little fellow began to ask the numberless questions common to childhood, often about the great "ultimate" things, the father began to train his mind. As soon as he was able to read, the father read to him and with him the writings of Voltaire and Racine, and other

favourites, and discussed with him questions of philosophy, religion, and history in a spirit of perfect frankness. It cannot be doubted that this early training under the guidance of such a sympathetic and wise teacher greatly influenced the life of the future Socialist leader. It probably had much to do with forming that love for philosophy which characterized his life and determined his studies at the universities of Bonn and Berlin.

There was, moreover, a great moral value in this parental guidance. Karl was a strong, imperious lad, of fiery temper and impetuous manner and spirit. He was, in fact, at heart a poet and possessed the passionate, wayward, artistic temperament; and these discussions which required so much patience, governed by the trained legal mind of the father, were admirably calculated to school the boy to patience and self-control. Long afterward, during the years of his wandering exile, he was the most gentle of teachers, and the kindness and unending patience with which he taught classes of working men in Brussels and London the principles of political economy always surprised those who knew how impatient he was in so many other ways, how volcanic his nature was.

Among the most intimate friends of Heinrich Marx was a Prussian official, Baron Ludwig von Westphalen, whose influence upon the life of the boy Karl was second only to that of his father. Baron von Westphalen was a half Scot, descended through his mother from the unfortunate Archibald, Earl of Argyll, who was publicly executed as a rebel at the market cross of Edinburgh, in 1685, by order of James II. Westphalen had come to Trier in 1816, two years after the annexation of the province to Prussia, and two years before the birth of Karl Marx. He came from Salzwedel, where he was president of the Provincial Court, to fill the more exalted position of National Adviser. It was very natural that Westphalen and Heinrich Marx should become fast friends, for they had much in common. It was natural, too,

that Westphalen's little daughter Jenny, who was born on the twelfth of February, 1814, and was therefore two years old when the family came to Trier, should become the companion of little Sophie Marx, who was not much younger than herself. It was also quite natural that when a little brother came to Sophie, little Jenny von Westphalen should take a special interest in the event. Thus it was that in course of time, when Karl grew big enough to play, he and Jenny became almost inseparable companions. The generous, handsome and manly boy was as a brother to the beautiful and romantic little girl, whose beauty was already remarkable. Later on, the feeling grew to be that of lover and lover.

Baron von Westphalen was very fond of his friend's children, his little Jenny's constant companions, and especially of the bright, imperious Karl. He loved to gather the children at his knee and tell them stories from his almost inexhaustible store. He read Homer and Shakespeare and Cervantes to them, and Karl revelled in the rich fields of romance through which these led him. A boy could scarcely be more fortunate than was the future Socialist. It was from Westphalen, then, that Karl Marx derived his love for poetry and romantic literature, just as he derived his love for philosophical reading and speculation from his father. Throughout his life he retained a passionate love for the writings of Goethe, Lessing, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Dante, the sublime masterpiece of the great Italian poet and mystic appealing strongly to his poetic temperament and the great fundamental religious instincts of his nature.

At school Karl gave early evidence of unusual ability, amounting almost to genius. A schoolboy who is steeped in the lore of Voltaire and Leibnitz, who knows his Racine, Shakespeare and Cervantes almost by heart — are there such boys in these days, even in Germany? — and who is the companion of his father, is very apt to be a good deal of a prig. But young Marx was not one of your typical bookworms, an intolerable bore with priggish manners. On the contrary, he

was a strong, active lad, full of mischief, and never so happy as when indulging in some boisterous, boyish fun, except, possibly, when writing satirical verses exposing to ridicule whoever among his companions might incur his displeasure or scorn. The withering sarcasm which made him such a terrific polemicist in later life had already manifested itself in school days, and caused many of his companions to treat him with marked respect and deference.

But if the aptitude for sarcasm which gave his mouth that familiar half-sneer so characteristic of him in later years, made him an object of fear, his warm and generous nature, so unmistakably expressed by his luminous, kindly eyes, made him a general favourite, an object of love and admiration. A brave, manly fellow with a passion for achievement and a genius for study, it was inevitable that he should be a general favourite with his teachers and fellow pupils. The radical tendencies which later caused his father and mother so much pain had not yet appeared, of course, but there was already developed in his character an altruistic passion which led his father to predict with confidence that he was destined to " serve humanity." Handsome, beloved by all who knew him, and successful in all that he undertook at school, his mother watched him with wondering admiration, fondly and proudly calling him her " Fortune Child."

At the Trier Gymnasium, from which he graduated when he was little more than sixteen years of age, Karl bore a good reputation and earned a very creditable record, both for behaviour and successful study. His great capacity for planning extensive work with thoroughness, his creative ability and his marked superiority in Greek and Latin studies were especially noted in his school report. He possessed a genuine love for the classic languages, and translated them with singular success, particularly, it is worthy of note, where the difficulty was in expressing subtle distinctions of meaning such as a lad does not usually discover for himself. Evidently his mind was al-

ready remarkable for its fine penetration. Of his Latin translations it was said that they were often faulty in phrasing, but quite remarkable for their perfect comprehension of the thought of the original.

With this equipment, then, Karl Marx entered the University of Bonn. The choice of a career seems to have been very difficult, and the subject of much anxious discussion between him and his father. There is a legend to the effect that the father set himself in opposition to the son's wishes and forced him to study law against his will. There seems, however, to be no substantial ground for believing this to be true. Doubtless the boy's early training, and especially the combined influences of his father and Baron von Westphalen, had given his mind a very decided bent in the direction of philosophic study and a love for romantic literature. He wanted to be a great philosopher and a great poet, and the father so far sympathized with his aspirations as to write, during the son's days of indecision at the university, encouraging him to try to win immortality by writing a great Prussian ode. But we know that young Marx did not himself freely choose the study of jurisprudence, that he regarded it as a "necessary evil," and took it up to please his father. While, therefore, there is no reason for believing that the father actively opposed his son's wishes or tried to force him to the study of jurisprudence, it is a fair inference that he urged him to do so. From the very practical nature of the letters which he wrote to his son during his university days, and from the latter's decided dislike for the study, it is probable that the father cherished the hope that Karl might one day become a great jurist. It is morally certain that the son would not have taken up his legal studies except for his father's advice. Further, it is more than probable that Baron von Westphalen lent his strong influence to this advice, pointing to the brilliant success of his own son, Edgar von Westphalen, fifteen years older than Marx, who later became a Minister of State.

At Bonn the student was not at all successful, disappointing his parents and friends, who had, quite naturally, expected him to achieve rapid distinction and success there as he had done at the Gymnasium. A foolish escapade or two, for which he was sternly rebuked by his father, some extravagance which led to trouble over his debts, seem to have been the most noteworthy accomplishments of his year at Bonn. The environment was not congenial, and the lad found nothing to inspire him. His father was sorely disappointed, but generally patient and kind, and wrote urging him to take up the study of chemistry and physics. Karl replied that these subjects were not well taught at Bonn, that Berlin was the proper place for such studies, and begged to be transferred to the University of Berlin. To this the father consented and Karl left Bonn after a rather unprofitable year.

It is not unlikely that his failure at Bonn was in some degree due to the fact that he had become conscious of a great change in his attitude toward his old playmate, the rich and beautiful Jenny von Westphalen. We are justified in assuming so much in the light of what took place immediately after. He was no longer satisfied to be her friend. In the critical period of adolescence, friendship had ripened into love, such love as a brave and romantic soul alone can feel. But, even to the generous, optimistic youth, this love must have seemed almost hopeless. Jenny was four years older than himself, to begin with. She was rich, while he was poor; she was known as the most beautiful girl in Trier, and, naturally, worthy suitors were not wanting. It may well be, then, that the state of mind produced by these circumstances had much to do with the failure at Bonn in that first year of university life.

However that may be, we know that when he returned to his home in Trier for a brief visit before his departure to the University of Berlin, Karl lost no time in pressing his suit. As he told his children many years later, he was a true Roland in his wooing and determined to succeed. Being four years

the elder, Jenny was not blind to the many issues involved in the suit of her daring and impetuous lover. She knew well enough that he had nothing to offer her in the way of fortune, and that he had come to her in his new rôle of lover with the shadow of his Bonn failure resting upon him. And while not lacking in romanticism herself, she knew very well that her lover was so much of an idealist, so romantic in his nature, that the hard "practical" virtues so desirable in a husband had not been developed in his character. But in the splendid light of her own love and the fire of Karl's pleading, the fears disappeared, and she became engaged to the future Socialist philosopher and economist.

As a matter of course there had to be some romantic element about this engagement, something to distinguish it from the ordinary, so the young lovers agreed that they would keep it secret — at least from the Westphalens — for a time. Karl, who had never kept a secret from his father, told him of the engagement and of the arrangement to keep it secret. To Heinrich Marx, who was the very soul of honour, this presented a very difficult problem. To share in this conspiracy of silence seemed to be disloyal to his old friend the Baron; to violate Karl's confidence by revealing the engagement seemed equally to be disloyal to Karl and to Jenny, whom he already loved as he loved his own children. Mrs. Marx was likewise troubled by the clandestine nature of the engagement, while rejoicing with her husband at the "Fortune Child's" good luck. After a great deal of argument on the part of father and son, the youthful lover prevailed, and the father agreed to keep the secret.

Karl Marx went to the University of Berlin with a happy heart, engaged to the beautiful Jenny von Westphalen. He was matriculated at Berlin on October 22, 1836, being then 18 years and 5 months old. The University of Berlin was at that time still enjoying some of the splendid glory of the great name of Hegel, who had died five years before. During

the time that great metaphysician held the chair of Theology there, Berlin University was the Mecca of German students. They came from all parts of Germany, often at great sacrifice, to enjoy the priceless advantage of sitting at Hegel's feet. Among those who studied there was Ludwig Feuerbach, the philosopher of humanitarian religion, whose *Wesen des Christenthums* [1] profoundly influenced the mental development of Marx, as may be seen from his and Engels' *Die Heilige Familie.*[2] David Strauss, author of the *Life of Jesus,* was another.

But while the University of Berlin was still enjoying some of the splendour of Hegel's fame, it was already declining. It had begun to lose some of the great prestige it had enjoyed during the time Hegel was in active service there. Marx entered the university when it was undergoing a transition. Less on account of the passing of Hegel than because of changing economic conditions, theology and speculative philosophy in general occupied a secondary place in the life and thought of the nation; practical subjects, such as jurisprudence, now held the place of honor. A new school of Naturalist philosophers had arisen under the leadership of the brilliant Alexander von Humboldt. Philosophy and history were the two subjects of study which most appealed to Marx, but he studied jurisprudence to please his father, " as a necessary evil," he said.

It was his good fortune to have begun his studies in jurisprudence under those eminent jurists, Frederich Karl von Savigny and Eduard Gans, the former of whom was lecturing at the university upon Roman Law, the latter upon Criminal Law and Prussian Property Rights. Others who were lecturing and teaching at the University of Berlin at the time were Rudolff Erbrecht, upon Theology, Philosophy, and Philology; Bruno Bauer, upon Theology; Karl Ritter, upon Geography; and J.

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[1] Translated by George Eliot, under the title *Essence of Christianity.*

[2] *Die Heilige Familie oder Kritik der Kritischen Kritik, eine Streitschift gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten.* Von Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx. Frankfurt a. M., 1845, p. 139.

P. Gabler, upon Logic. Of these, Bruno Bauer and Rudolff Erbrecht were Marx's personal friends. Of all the others, Eduard Gans seems to have exercised the greatest influence upon him, special mention being made in the report he received upon leaving of his attention to the lectures of his friend Bauer and those of Gans.

As a matter of fact, he studied only a little more successfully at Berlin than he had previously done at Bonn. He worked very hard, it is true, often endangering his health by the intensity of his studies, but it was mainly independent personal work outside of the university altogether. During the term he attended very few lectures indeed, and though he successfully graduated, in 1841, at Jena, with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, he cannot be said to have had a very distinguished university career.

From the letters of his father which have been preserved, as well as from his own confessions in later life, it is very evident that during a large part of his stay at Berlin Marx was in the throes of a great mental and spiritual struggle, the first of his life and the greatest. First of all, there was his love affair, the secret engagement with Jenny von Westphalen. It seems that Jenny refused to correspond directly with her student lover; though she had secretly engaged herself to him, she refused to write of her love until such time as the engagement could be avowed openly and acknowledged. Whether Karl had agreed to this before leaving Trier for Berlin is not known, but it is certain that he soon began to pine for letters from his sweetheart. If he had consented to the arrangement while at Trier, in Berlin it soon became quite unbearable to him. He was, moreover, haunted by a feeling that he had not done quite right by his old friends, Jenny's parents. Brooding over these things, he became morose and unhappy, and wrote to his father in the most pathetic and pessimistic manner imaginable.

He wrote also to Jenny, but she was obdurate and would not be moved from her determination. The romantic spirit which

led her to consent to a secret engagement did not permit her to maintain a lovers' correspondence with her passionate young lover until her parents could know of her engagement. She, too, was unhappy and oppressed; to get tidings of her lover she was a frequent visitor at the Marx home, her friendship for Sophie Marx and the intimacy of the two families, offering all the necessary excuse for her presence there. Thus she learned of her lover's progress, and he upon his part learned of Jenny from his sister and his ever faithful and devoted father. The strain upon the young girl appears to have made her ill and the knowledge of that added to her lover's misery. Thus the father writes in one of his letters to his son: "She who in her childish belief and love has so utterly trusted herself to you, often against her own will, expresses a feeling of fear and a heavy heart which pains me and which I cannot understand. And no sooner do I mention it to her than she tries to drive away every painful doubt of my aching heart."

There is much that is at once pathetic and sublime in the part which the father played in the son's troubled courtship, as well as something beautiful in the affectionate and tender relations of father and son. Heinrich Marx loved Jenny von Westphalen as dearly as if she were his own daughter, and throughout his letters to his son during the earlier period of his Berlin life there is the most earnest reiteration of his desire that Karl should recognize his obligations toward his future bride, especially to provide her with the comfort to which she was entitled. He insists that Karl must hurry to win a place for himself in the world, to recompense the "girl angel" for the great sacrifices she was making for his sake. He even goes so far as to advise what kind of love letters he should write to his beautiful sweetheart, advising him to make them as loving as possible, but to avoid "filling them with poetical phantasies." This advice was evidently inspired by his growing fear of his son's radical notions, and the feeling that he lacked practical common sense, as idealists are apt to do. Thus, we find him

writing in December, 1836, a grave warning against rash and radical utterances: "Your letters are not without truth, but in this system they are apt to create alarm, and you don't know how vehement a learned storm may prove. If the subject is shocking and impossible, we must at least try to make the form of its expression as mild and pleasing as possible."

Then again, in March of the following year, he wrote: "It is wonderful that I, who by nature am awfully lazy to write letters, gladly do so when I write to you. I cannot and will not apply my bad habits to you. My heart throbs when I think of you and your future. And yet at times I cannot rid myself of the painful feeling, when like a flash of lightning the thought comes to me, that the goodness of your heart may upset the firmness of your mind; whether midst your dreams you have room for the earthly things, which are so necessary to a man with a good heart; if you are not ruled by a terrible Demon, who so often destroys men, no matter whether he is of heavenly or hellish nature." And again, in yet another letter, we find the father, himself practical and thrifty, expressing his doubt whether his son has these qualities: "The wish to see your name rise high in the world, as well as the one to see you well fixed in the earthly goods of the world, are not the only ones I cherish for you, though those mentioned have been long-dreamed-of illusions." He is forever urging upon the youthful idealist the necessity and duty of caring for the practical things of life. One can well imagine in the light of his letters, what anguish the father would have felt had he lived to witness the subsequent career of his great son, with its years of bitter, harrowing poverty and suffering.

Karl's letters to his sweetheart did not break her silence. Not a line would she write. Finally, in his despair, Karl wrote to his father, setting forth his intention to write to Jenny's father, acquainting him with the facts and begging for his consent to the engagement. To this the father replied, warmly encouraging the idea, as may be supposed. The young lover

carried out his idea at once and was once again rewarded with the traditional luck of the "Fortune Child." Baron von Westphalen was by no means blind to the fact that his daughter had more eligible suitors. Young Marx was not likely to be able to give his child the comfort and luxury to which she had been accustomed — at least, not for some time. Her brother, Edgar, was already holding a very responsible position as Secret Adviser to the Crown, and it was in fact something of a social sacrifice for Jenny to marry the young Marx. But the Baron loved his daughter dearly, and her love for the young student was the deciding factor; added to that, he also loved the lad whose development he had so decidedly influenced.

Marx was thus made happy by the consent of Jenny's parents to the engagement, but there was still a drop of bitterness in his cup; Jenny would not write, even now, and remained as silent as before. Even when her father urged her to write freely to her lover, she refrained. Karl was sad and bitterly disappointed and not even the assurances of Jenny's father that she was his, "heart and soul," could comfort him. His letters to his father grew more and more violent. How bitter and unreasonably passionate some of these letters must have been may be judged from a response to some of them by his father, dated November 17, 1837: "I am disgusted with your letters; their irrational tone is loathsome to me; I would never have expected it of you. What cause can you have for them? Weren't you the child of good luck from your very cradle? Wasn't nature generous to you? Haven't your parents loved you with a great love? Was there ever a time when you could not satisfy the least one of your wishes? Weren't you lucky to win the heart of a girl who is the envy of thousands? And now, the first step of opposition, the least discomfort brings forth your pessimism! Do you call that strength or manly character? But the 'Fortune Child' is always in luck. Your good mother did not leave a stone unturned, and she had the cooperation of your Jenny's noble parents, who were so

anxious to see the moment when her wounded heart would submit. By this time you must already be the happy possessor of her missive."

The letter, so long desired, to which reference is thus made by the father, reached Karl some eight or ten days before the father's letter was written. Writing to his parents on the tenth of November, he says: "Her letter received. Give my best wishes to my sweet, beautiful Jenny. I have re-read her letter twelve times, and every time I find new charm in it. It is in every respect, even in style, the finest letter that I have ever received from a lady." Rather more than a year had passed away since the young student had left the parental roof at Trier, madly intoxicated with the wine of love. It had been for him a year of bitter struggle, the memory of which could not be eclipsed at once, even by the receipt of Jenny's letter. The letter to his parents, just quoted, concludes with a question born out of the bitter memories of the struggle: "What satisfaction do I find when I look back at the year spent in this place?" he asks. Happiness and hope, however, were derived from the promise contained in the letter from his father that he should come home for a brief visit the following Easter. The promise softened the scolding contained in the letter and gave the troubled youth something to look forward to — but the future held bitter disappointment for him, even in that.

His love troubles were not the only ones which caused him unhappiness in that first year at Berlin. They may have been, and it seems most likely that they were, the fundamental causes of the mental and spiritual unrest which characterized his life at this period. One reads the account he himself wrote of his work and struggles at this time with mingled feelings of pity and admiration — pity for his suffering of mind and body, admiration for his tireless energy.

When he first took up his residence in Berlin, young Marx went to live at No. 1, Old Leipziger Street, in the house where



Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen

the great Lessing had resided during his last visit to Berlin. He plunged at once into his studies, visiting nobody, and refusing to call upon various persons of influence, to whom he had been recommended, even when begged to do so by his father. He wrote poetry and planned the writing of a number of novels. He wrote three volumes of poems and in December, two months after his matriculation, we find his sister Sophie writing to him that "Jenny cried when she read the poem, 'Tears of Joy and Sorrow.'" While he must have devoted a great deal of time to the writing of poetry, as we may judge from the volume of his output, he by no means gave himself wholly to the Muses. Poetry was a diversion, a serious diversion, no doubt, but still only a diversion. Philosophy and jurisprudence claimed his attention. He read the works of the celebrated jurist, Johann Gottlieb Heinneccius, in his first semester, and studied pure philosophy, writing, it is said, some three hundred pages upon the subject of Positive Right, trying to work out an elaborate system of metaphysics for himself. He studied the higher mathematics, read omnivorously a varied collection of works upon German history, art, and literature, taking copious notes upon all he read. During the same period he studied English and Italian grammar, read up on Petty Criminal Law, translated the *Germania* of Tacitus, Ovid's *Libri Tristium* and other classics, and kept up with the new literature of the period.

At the end of his first semester his mind turned away from the heavier studies to poetry and the drama. Hopes that he might become a great poet and dramatist possessed him for a while and tortured his soul with the struggle they precipitated. "Everything was centred on poetry," he wrote once, "as if I were bewitched by some unearthly power." When the young philosopher turned from his own poetical effusions to the works of the great masters, comparing them with that fine candour for which he was famous, he became his own most unsparing critic. He could not fail to see what a gulf stretched between his verse

and the sublime poetry which was his standard. We know what he felt from the bitter cry: "The riches of true poetry dazzled me and turned all my hopes to naught."

That Marx had true poetic instinct and feeling is unquestionable. His life-long fondness for poetry, thousands of lines of which he stored in his wonderful memory, and the keen critical sense of poetic forms which made his criticism and advice so welcome to Heine and Freiligrath, prove that he was endowed with real poetic sense and imagination. Not a few of Heine's poems were suggested by him, and it is said he often supplied whole lines to Freiligrath's fiery rhymes. But at this period his mental state was too anarchic for lyrical expression, his thoughts too confused, formless and indefinite for song. There is a note of self-revelation in his perplexed cry:

"Doch wie sollen Worte richtig zwängen
Selber Nebelrauch und Schall,
Was unendlich ist, wie Geistesdrängen,
Wie du selber und das All?" [1]

There is a surer and happier note in his lover-like contentment and peace:

Da ward ich tief gebunden,
Da ward mein Auge klar,
Da hatte ich gefunden,
Das dunkles Streben war.

Was nicht mein Geist erflogen,
Getrieben vom Geschick,
Das kam ins Herz gezogen
Von selbst mit deinem Blick.[2]

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[1] How can words, mere empty words, express it,
That waft hence like smoke-wreaths lightly curled,
What is mighty as the mind's endeavour,
What is infinite as is the world?

[2] My heart profoundly fettered,
My soul's eye clearer grew;

The turbulent spirit of the future revolutionist could not for long remain calm and restful, even under the tranquillising spell of Jenny's love. A wild, restless spirit within pitilessly urged him onward:

Nimmer kann ich ruhig treiben,
Was die Seele stark erfasst,
Nimmer still behaglich bleiben,
Und ich stürme ohne Rast.

Alles möcht' ich mir erringen,
Jede schönste Göttergunst,
Und im Wissen wagend dringen
Und erfassen Sang und Kunst.[1]

It is the fighter who speaks in the stanzas that follow, calling us to deeds of daring. Anything is better than a life of calm submission:

Darum lasst uns Alles wagen,
Nimmer rasten, nimmer ruhn,
Nur nicht dumpf so gar nichts sagen,
Und so gar nichts woll'n und thun.

What I had vaguely hoped for
I found at last in you.

What I had failed to master
On life's harsh, thorny ways,
It came to me uncalled for
With thy enchanting gaze.

[1] Ne'er can I perform in calmness
What has seized my soul with might,
But must strive and struggle onward
In a ceaseless, restless flight.

All divine, enhancing graces
Would I make of life a part;
Penetrate the realms of science,
Grasp the joys of Song and Art.

Nur nicht brütend hingegangen
Aengstlich in dem niedern Joch,
Denn das Sehnen und Verlangen
Und die That, sie blieb uns doch.[1]

Not much need be said of Marx's poetry. As the foregoing quotations indicate, it is of biographical, not literary, interest. The preservation of the three manuscript volumes of verse addressed by the youthful lover to his future bride does not imply that either Marx or his wife regarded them seriously, as poetry, in later years. It is natural that the devoted wife should preserve with care and tender affection the boyish effusions, and that what had been so sacred to her the husband should have been unwilling to destroy after her death. It remains only to be said that when, from time to time, the books were taken from their resting places to the light, husband and wife indulged in much merry joking over them.

Under the fierce strain of his unregulated study the young man's health broke down completely. The father wrote urging him not to tax himself so severely and to get out into the fresh air of the country more often. A physician who had to be called in, giving the same advice, Karl removed to Stralau, a suburb of the city. How much of a recluse he had been up to that time may be judged from a passage in one of his letters saying that upon his removal to Stralau he traversed the length of the city for the first time during his sojourn in

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[1] Let us do and dare our utmost,
Never from the strife recede,
Never live in dull inertia,
So devoid of will and deed.

Anything but calm submission
To the yoke of toil and pain!
Come what may then, hope and longing,
Deed and daring still remain.

Note: For these translations the author is indebted to Mrs. Meta L. Stern ("Hebe") of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung.*

Berlin. Medical care and plenty of fresh country air revived his bodily strength, but that only meant the renewing of the great mental and spiritual struggle which had caused so many sleepless nights at the house in Old Leipziger Street. He was seeking a spiritual anchorage, struggling with the great ultimate questions of life. He hoped to find what he sought in Hegel, as so many others had done, but he was disappointed. At times he seemed almost to lose his reason, so intense was the spiritual struggle which filled his life at this period. At one time he was for days unable to control his thoughts and found relief only in a brief hunting trip which he took in company with his Stralau host.

When health again returned, he decided to eschew metaphysical studies and to devote himself to positive science. He studied law, criminology and history and kept up his Latin studies. But he could not so easily free himself from the great spiritual struggle. The questions were yet unanswered and the expedient of merely refusing to read about them did not bring release from their terrible pressure. Added to this cause was his sweetheart's silence, which, as we have seen, caused him so much unhappiness. In a fit of melancholy he burned poems, plays and plots for novels, hoping to find mental rest and peace, but that, also, was in vain. Once more he became sick, and, during his sickness, turned again to Hegel and vainly sought a solution of his problems in a thorough study of the great philosopher's works.

When his soul was torn and distressed by the agony of the great mental struggle which he was enduring, he wrote freely to his father in letters which often were as wild and incoherent as his thoughts. In one letter he wrote: "In the hope that you, forever beloved and dear father, would understand the manifold moods of mine where the heart would often like to live and enjoy, but is conquered by my restless spirit, I wish you were here with me, so that I could hold you tight to my breast, and express to you all that goes on within it." In re-

sponse to a letter from his father in which, true to his solicitude for the future comfort of his son's promised bride, the thrifty lawyer had suggested that Karl should try to obtain a professorship, the latter writes about the possibility of his starting a periodical and accepting the suggestion as to a professorship, and adds: "But, my dear and good father, is it not possible to talk these matters over with you? I will remain here if I do not get your full consent. Believe me, dear father, that I have no special cause for wanting to go home (though I would like much to see Jenny again), but it is my thoughts that drive me, and those I cannot explain." At another time he writes: "Dear father, do forgive the awful handwriting and the terrible style! It is almost four o'clock in the morning; the candle is almost all burned out and my eyes pain me. An awful unrest took hold of me, and I shall not be able to conquer the feeling until I can feel your love right close to me."

But the staid, precise and calm official could not understand his beloved son in this unsettled state. Perhaps had he been with him, witnessing his struggle, instead of depending on those letters filled with wild strange cries, he would have understood. As it was, he was distressed, disappointed, and angry. On December 1, 1837, he wrote his son a long, scathing letter full of remorse and upbraiding. As one reads the letter to-day it is evident that the fierce protest was torn from a loving but sadly disappointed heart.

He begins the letter by steeling his heart against his son: "When one realizes his weakness one must try and battle against it. If I were to write in the ordinary way, then I am sure that at the end my love for you would make me assume the sentiment of tone I always take. . . . I too want to express my complaints, and real complaints they are." Quite systematically and lawyer-like he proceeds to an indictment, all the more severe because of the repressed love struggling to find expression, but denied by parental sorrow and justice. He

asks what tasks confront a young man endowed by nature with extraordinary gifts, when (a) he idolizes his father and mother; (b) has captured the heart of the noblest girl living; (c) is about to enter one of the worthiest families. "You forget that to the world it appears that she, dear child, your bride, is entering on a path full of danger and trouble "— this of course referring to her lover's comparative poverty and social inferiority.

With legal precision and severity, the father proceeds to the indictment of the son he had ceased to understand until, on the fifth page of his letter, his anger bursts forth uncontrolled: "Complete disorder, silly wandering through all branches of science, silly brooding at the burning oil lamp; turned wild in your coat of learning and unkempt hair; and in your wildness you see with four eyes — a horrible set-back and disregard for everything decent. And in the activity of this senseless and purposeless learning you want to raise the fruits which are to unite you with your beloved one! What harvest do you expect to gather from them which will enable you to fulfil your duty toward her?" Then, feeling his love growing stronger than his anger, he says: "My usual weakness is taking hold of me once more, but in order to say what I must say, I try to swallow the bitter pill and fulfil what I undertook to do, as for this once I mean to be really harsh and to bring forth all my complaints."

Taking up the indictment again, he reminds Karl of his foolish escapades at Bonn, of debts incurred, of the pain and distress brought upon his beautiful sweetheart. Of one of the poor lad's letters, he says: "A mad composition, which denotes clearly how you waste your ability and spend nights in order to create those monsters. You are surely following in the footsteps of those malicious young men who proclaim their ideas so long and so loud, until their own ears do not hear what their mouths utter; who possess a torrent of words, but perverted thoughts as to the nature of genius." Turning to Karl's

mismanagement of his financial affairs, he says: "We did our best so that our son might be able to spend 700 thalers . . . while the sons of the richest parents do not spend more than 500. I give him credit that he is not a spendthrift. But how can a man who finds a new system every week or two, and has to destroy all the work he did on the former one . . . bother about petty details? Everybody who wishes to do so has a hand in his pockets, everybody cheats him."

The father's letter goes on to warn his son against dissipation of his energies, points out that the slow, plodding, steady students accomplish most, that nothing but harm to body and mind could result from such feverish restlessness as Karl's letters too plainly indicated. Then love and pride once more assert themselves. He tells Karl that his sisters complain of his neglect of them — "especially the good Sophie, who suffered so much on your and Jenny's account, and who is so devoted to you." He denies Karl's request to be allowed to go home for a visit, saying, "It would be sheer madness for you to come here just now! . . . You can come home for the Easter holidays, or even two days before then — I am not so petty as all that; and in spite of this harsh letter of mine you can rest assured that I will receive you with open arms and a father's loving heart, which at present throbs with pain."

From another of the father's letters which the son carefully preserved, dated February 10, 1838, we gather that Karl had written defending himself against his father's attacks and foregoing the promised Easter visit that his father might be spared unnecessary pain. When we remember that this meant also the giving up of a long visit with his sweetheart, the sacrifice becomes apparent. The father's letter, written a few hours after he had risen from an illness which had kept him abed for five weeks, praises the son for his goodness of heart and his thoughtfulness. "But rest assured that the sacrifice is not on one side only," he writes. "We are all in the same boat, but reason must be the conqueror." He goes on to say.

"When I wrote that outspoken letter I was in the frame of mind to make you account for all your deeds, but it seems that my mood did not succeed in finding the right method of doing it." Still his anger is not all gone, for he adds: "But I could still permit myself to take up those transactions once more and present to you every single complaint, but I would not undertake an abstract reasoning with you, as you are master of that art."

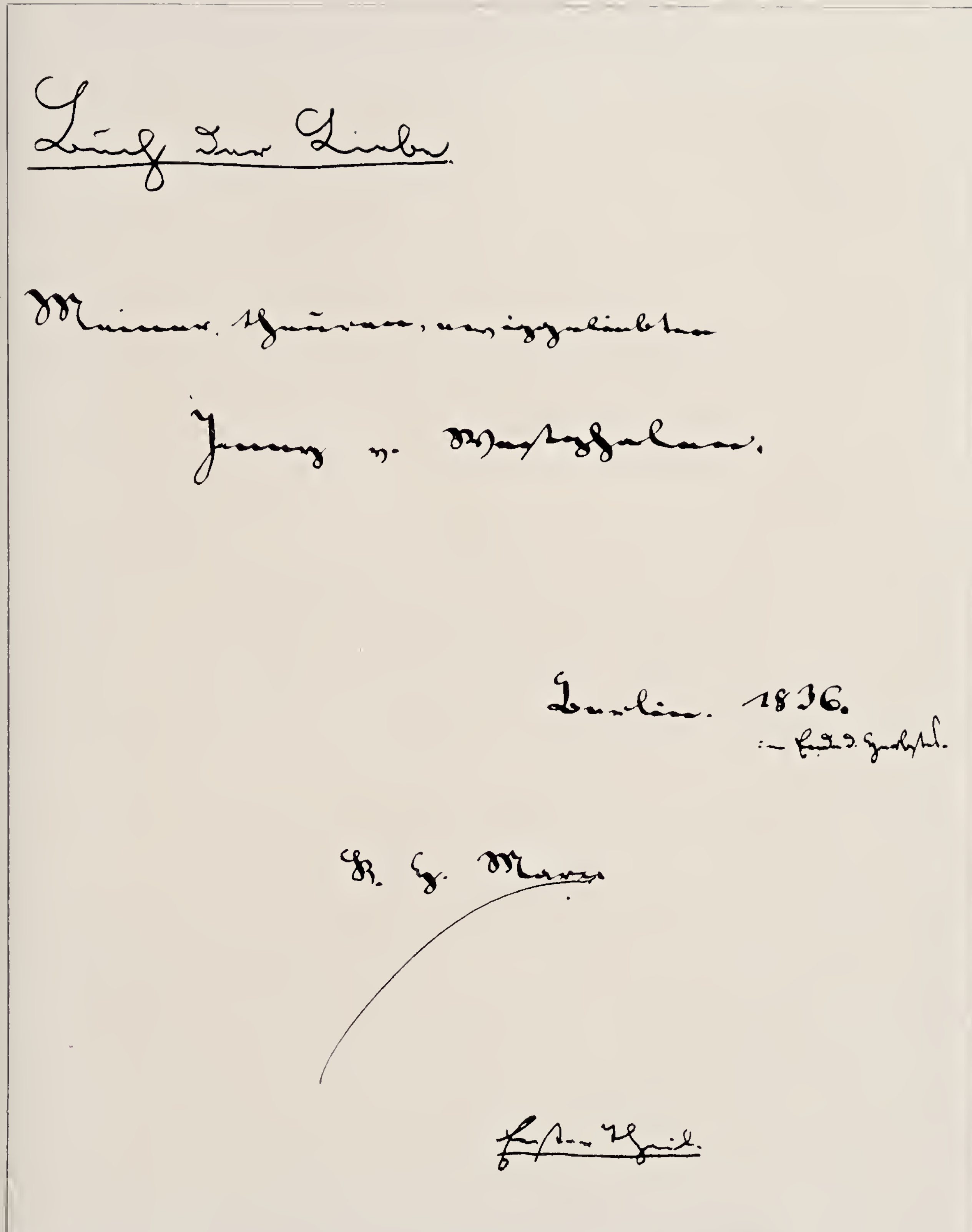
Once more he returns to the great practical question which always distressed him, more for Jenny's sake, probably, than for Karl's: "Only on one subject I am still in the dark as to your views, and on that subject you are shrewd enough to keep silent. I mean that cursed gold, whose worth to a family man you do not seem to grasp at all . . . though you unjustly claim that I do not know, or do not understand you. I leave it to your heart and sense of justice to decide for yourself whether you are right in either judgment." Pathetically surrendering in what was to him a bitter struggle, he adds: "I am not blind, and fatigue only causes me to lay down my weapons. Nevertheless, you must remember that you are dear to my heart, and are the greatest hope of my life."

To this letter, the last the father ever wrote to his son, the mother added a postscript in which she told of her husband's weakness, of the sweet Jenny's goodness to her lover's parents and her efforts to brighten their home. Referring to her bitter disappointment at the postponement of Karl's visit, she wrote, "I am very unhappy on account of it, but I must use my reason as a curtain for my feelings."

On the 26th of February his mother wrote, saying: "Your father's cough is much better, but he suffers from a loss of appetite, and on account of his long illness has become awfully irritable." She begs Karl to write "very tenderly" to his father, as he "reads the letters over and over again." Of her son's adored Jenny, there is a characteristic message: "Whenever dear Jenny comes to us she usually remains for

the day and tries to entertain your father. She is a darling child and I hope that she will make you really happy." To the letter the father added a brief postscript, a mere scrawl, barely legible: "Dear Karl, accept my best wishes; I cannot as yet write much."

Karl went home at Easter, after all, and was present at his father's death bed on May 10, 1838. Heinrich Marx died of tuberculosis at the comparatively early age of 56 years. The last years of his life had been unhappy ones, clouded by disappointment in his son and failure to understand him. That neither sire nor son was to blame for this misunderstanding is evident from the father's letters. It was a phase of that tragic conflict of the old man and the new which runs like a thread through the whole fabric of history. Karl Marx loved his father with a love as rare as it was beautiful, and all his life was marked by tender devotion to his father's memory. One who knew him well in the days of the International said of him: "Karl Marx has three saints whom he worships: they are his father, his mother, and his wife."


Buch der Liebe

Meiner theuren, ewig geliebten

Jenny v. Westphalen.

Berlin. 1836.

K. H. Marx

Erster Theil.

Facsimile title page of Marx's "Buch der Liebe"

III

THE YOUNG HEGELIANS

At the time of his greatest agony of mind and soul, when he was in the throes of that conflict which was such a bitter blow to his father; and when, sick and melancholy, he burned all his poems and plots for novels and turned once more to a study of Hegel in the hope of finding mental and spiritual peace, Marx joined himself to the "Young Hegelians," the extreme Left of the Hegelian school, and found the relief he sought in new friendships and intellectual interests.

There was a Doctors' Club to which many of these young radicals belonged, including several of the instructors at the University with whom Marx had become intimate. He was invited to join the club and did so, the event proving to be the very thing needed to restore his spirits. It was a turning point in his intellectual career, too, so great was the influence of the brilliant coterie of young radical philosophers upon his mental development. Foremost of the members of this club, and most intimate with Marx, were two of his instructors, both much older men than himself, the celebrated Bruno Bauer and Karl Friederich Koppen. Men of remarkable talents and great learning, they recognized Marx's unusual gifts and treated him as a comrade and an equal.

That Marx must have been at this period an attractive personality, capable of strong and endearing friendships, is indicated by the letters of his friends, Bauer and Koppen. When Bauer left Berlin for Bonn he kept up an intimate and affectionate correspondence with his old pupil and friend. In one letter he writes: "I often go to the Casino and the Professors' Club, but it does not compare with our club (i. e., the

club at Berlin), which always held forth something interesting for the mind. Here they only gossip and tell jokes, and when they come together after nine o'clock they are ready to go home at eleven. The true spirit of snobbery prevails here." In another letter he writes: "Where are the roses gone? Only when you come to your B. Bauer will they bloom again. So-called entertaining and fun I have in plenty, but this does not compare to the walks which we were wont to take together while at Berlin." And when Marx in turn left Berlin to join Bauer at Bonn, Koppen was disconsolate. How deeply he was attached to and influenced by Marx can only be guessed from his remark: "With the departure of this Black Personality departed also his influence. Once more I possess my own thoughts and ideas, while my former reflections all came from Schutzen Street"— this reference being to the place where Marx resided during the latter part of his stay in Berlin.

Marx himself has said that the Young Hegelians found that the dialectical method of Hegel, in order to be rationally employed, had to be turned upside down and placed upon a materialistic basis, and the saying fairly described the aims and the result of their work. Hegel's was in some respects the most revolutionary voice of his time. Superficial minds saw little or nothing revolutionary in his teachings, it is true, and he was even decorated by Frederick William III and looked upon as a bulwark of the royal Prussian government. Nevertheless, Hegel's thought was essentially revolutionary. The famous saying, "All that is real is rational, and all that is rational is real," might be, and in fact was, interpreted as being the statement of a conservative principle. As Engels truly says: "No philosophic statement has so invited the thanks of narrow-minded governments and the anger of equally narrow-minded Liberals. Neither the narrow-minded reactionaries who blessed Hegel, nor the narrow-minded Liberals who cursed him, understood that the philosopher meant by reality not mere existence, but existence with the sanction of necessity.

That which is necessary is, in the long run, reasonable. Hegel's doctrine, as applied to the Prussian State, did not mean that it was real and therefore rational, as implying approval of its existence. What it meant was that so long as it was *necessary* it was reasonable; that if a government exists in spite of what seems evil and unrational in its existence it is due to the faults in the subjects, which faults make its existence necessary. In other words, instead of approving the Prussian State, Hegel virtually said: "Prussian government is as good as Prussians deserve."

If that were all of Hegel's philosophy it might be described as platitudinous rather than revolutionary. What is revolutionary in it is the fine recognition of the inevitability of the historic process of evolution, of growth. In the course of progress the reality of yesterday becomes the unreality of to-day or to-morrow; it loses its necessity, which is at once its right of existence, its rationality. What was necessary, a vital reality, becomes unnecessary, loses its reality. In its place there develops a new reality, the product of present necessity as the old reality was the product of past necessity. Thus, all that is real in human history must develop unreality; all that is rational become irrational. That is its inherited destiny. And all that in the minds of men seems reasonable, however opposed to present apparent reality, becomes real.

According to this view, then, Truth is not to be regarded as a fixed quantity, unchanging, to be conveniently compressed into formulæ, but rather as the process of knowledge itself. Truth is not an absolute quantum of knowledge, but an endless becoming, and what is true for one age, the sum of its knowledge, ceases to be true for another age with larger knowledge. The revolutionary importance of this contribution of Hegel to philosophy can only be understood when we have equipped ourselves to see philosophy as it was in Hegel's day. And what it did for philosophy it did likewise for history. Just as the great philosopher made it impossible to think of Truth as

something absolute and final, so he made it impossible to think of the historical process coming to a stop, finding conclusion in absolute perfection, the perfect State. All historical epochs are only so many stages in the endless evolutionary process, man's climb from lower to higher planes. Every step in that progress is necessary and useful, a product of existing circumstances. But as new conditions develop the necessity for a new and higher social form, it has in its turn to give way. Where there is consciousness of this process of change, it is possible for human effort so to cooperate with the blind forces as to bring about the transition peacefully. But where this consciousness is lacking, and instead there is striving against the inevitable, the transition must be by force. It was this reasoning which made Hegel so enthusiastic over the French Revolution.

It will be seen later that the Hegelian philosophy was a necessary approach to Marxism, that the latter is indeed the direct descendant of the former. Without Hegelianism Marxism would have been impossible. Still, Hegel was far from reaching the modern Marxist point of view. He was essentially an ideologist. According to his view, behind the great historical process and development is the Absolute Idea, existing from eternity, and the progression itself is simply the process of the Absolute, or, in the language of a cruder theology, the manifestation of God. Thus the Absolute Idea is made the eternal source of progress, pre-existent to the universe — a " fantastical survival of the belief in the existence of an extra-mundane Creator," as Engels observes in his discussion of Feuerbach's philosophy.

It was against this fantastic ideological element in Hegelianism, its self-contradictions, that the Young Hegelians directed their attack, in which young Marx found at least a partial solution of his difficulties. These young radicals of the Extreme Left, of whom Bruno Bauer and Ludwig Feuerbach were the leading spirits, regarded Hegel's Absolute Idea as an

illegitimate interpolation into his philosophy. Instead of regarding the logical forms as being due to a self-revealing Absolute, they regarded them as being due to human thought. Man thus became the creator of the Absolute — of God. The material universe became the starting point from which ideas must be traced, the reverse of Hegel's thought.

The rise of the Young Hegelians, or Philosophic Radicals, as they were sometimes called, may be ascribed, though more or less arbitrarily, to the publication in 1835 of Strauss's *Leben Jesu;* at any rate, the daring manner in which Strauss rejected all that could not be naturally explained, and the controversy which the book produced, made the new school possible. Bruno Bauer in his *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes,* published in 1840, and his *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker,* published in 1841, carried the movement onward. But it was Ludwig Feuerbach who systematized the revolt of the new school. In his *Critique of Hegel,* published in 1839, and, more especially, his *Wesen des Christenthums,* published in 1840, Feuerbach sounded the first full notes of the materialistic reaction from Hegelian idealism. The effect of the former book in Germany was tremendous. Its relatively popular style, and its freedom from abstruse terminology, secured for it a large audience. Upon young Marx the effect of the book was too great to be easily overestimated. In spite of many critical reservations he received it enthusiastically, as may be seen from *Der Heilige Familie,* his first work written in collaboration with Engels, published in 1845.

Feuerbach boldly rejected Hegel's concept of the Absolute Idea and " placed materialism on the throne again without any circumlocution." The senses, he declared to be the sole sources of knowledge. " God was my first thought, Reason my second, Man my third and last," he said. The only God for Feuerbach is man, not the individual but the collectivity: " Man by himself is but man; man with man, the union of I

and Thou, is God." His materialism was of the most mechanical kind, a harking back to the narrowest forms of the most narrow and mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century. Man was but a machine, or part of a machine. He revamped the bold materialism of the eighteenth century, that men are absolutely the product of their environment, without recognizing — what Marx at once recognized — that this is not absolutely true, that men may and do exert considerable influence upon their environment. There probably was never a more sweeping statement of mechanical materialism than Feuerbach's celebrated saying that man is what he eats, *Der Mensch ist was er isst.*

Taken by itself, this description of Feuerbach's materialism conveys a wrong impression of his philosophy, however. He whose chief merit as a philosopher lay in the exposure and refutation of the ideological element in Hegel's philosophy was himself an ideologist, a victim of mental dualism similar to that which limited Hegel. He summed up his position by saying: "Backward I am in accord with the materialists, but not forward." By a curious mental trick, the mind that so clearly perceived the dependence of moral and intellectual phenomena upon material conditions, conceived the idea of reversing the relation. Starting from the etymology of the word religion, from *religare,* to tie or bind together, he regards every bond between human beings as a manifestation of religion. That these bonds, such as friendships, sex-love, kinship, have no connection with religion in the historical significance of that term, but are the products of necessity rooted in material conditions, matters not to Feuerbach. He vainly imagines that to the word "religion" can be given a new significance, and that the unity and fellowship of mankind can be brought about if a new religion of humanity be created. The anthropomorphic Deity and Hegel's abstract Absolute Idea being for him alike impossible, he sets out to make God of a different ideological abstraction — Unity. Hence the signifi-

cance of his saying " Man by himself is but man; man with man, the union of I and Thou, is God." The barrenness and sterility of Feuerbach's religion of Humanism need no demonstration. It failed just as Positivism with the added element of sacerdotalism has failed. Countless experiments have been made, aiming to establish a religion based purely upon human love, but none has ever succeeded as a religion in any adequate sense of the word. Cults, little coteries of adherents, more or less brilliant and gifted, have been formed, but there has been no successful religious movement. The nearest approach to a religious movement which resulted from Feuerbach's ideological Humanism was that sentimental, academic, and literary Socialism, represented by Karl Gruen and others, — the so-called German or " True " Socialism — which Marx and Engels so scathingly denounced in the *Communist Manifesto.* Like an epidemic, a hazy, sentimental propaganda of brotherly love swept over Germany, but it passed away, leaving no trace of its existence.

This somewhat detailed account of the Young Hegelian movement has borne us some distance from the chronological sequence of the life of Marx, and involves a retracing of our steps. But without such a mental picture of the movement into which he entered while at Berlin most of Marx's life must be incomprehensible to us, and anything like a correct estimate of his work impossible. Just as the work of Hegel was a necessary approach to modern scientific Socialism, or Marxism, so the work of Feuerbach was a further step in the same direction. Like Hegelianism, the philosophy of Feuerbach stopped far short of the conclusions later reached by Marx. It was, however, an intermediate and a necessary link in the chain of philosophical development. The three names — Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx — are inseparable.

Bruno Bauer, who for five years had served as a licentiate of Theology at Berlin University, was transferred to Bonn in 1839. Originally a "true" Hegelian, belonging to the

Extreme Right, he had gradually become one of the leaders of the Extreme Left, the Young Hegelians. Impetuous and warm-hearted himself, Bauer had become devotedly attached to young Marx, who was equally impetuous and warm-hearted. By the end of his first year at Berlin Marx was engrossed in a scheme for the publication of a radical review in collaboration with Bauer, and the idea seems to have dominated the minds of both men for many months, even after Bauer's removal to Bonn. It is significant of the respect which the older man entertained for the younger that he always addressed him as his "coworker." When he decided to go to Bonn, Bauer sought to persuade Marx, who was then in his eighth semester, to make special efforts to obtain the degree of Doctor of Philosophy as speedily as possible, and to secure a position as lecturer in philosophy at Bonn. This plan would not only reunite the friends, but would perhaps make it possible for them to issue the periodical of which they had dreamed so long. Marx was not averse to this arrangement, for his affection for Bauer was very real and sincere. But in the background of his thoughts there seems always to have been the hope that he might obtain a professorship at Berlin.

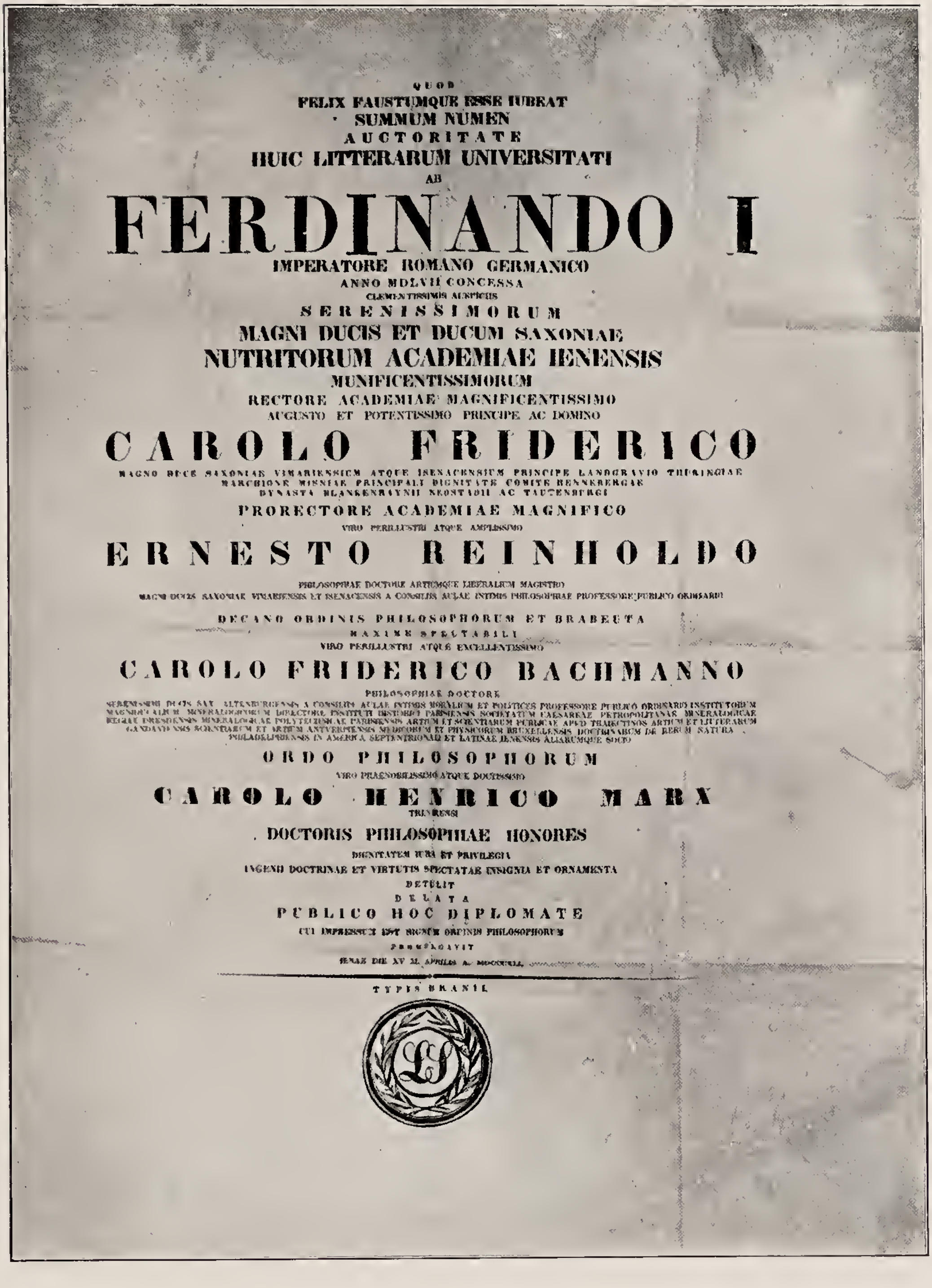
For Marx it was not an easy matter to obtain the coveted degree, so necessary to an academic career. The irregularity of his studies, and the uncompromising independence of his judgment were formidable obstacles. Above all, there was his impatience and his scorn for many of the petty details involved in the examinations. Like many another genius, he found the greatest difficulty in passing examinations which men of less ability could pass with ease. Bauer knew this weakness of his former pupil, and had no sooner taken up his new position at Bonn, in the fall of 1839, than he began to write to Marx, earnestly begging him to get through with the "old examinations." This was the burden of his very first letter from Bonn, in which after some encouraging words concerning the prospect of a position at Bonn University, he wrote:

" Only see that (I know that all reminder of it is unpleasant to you, but it cannot be helped) you get through with those nasty examinations, so that you may devote yourself entirely to your logical work. . . . Write to me how everybody is getting along, and with it drop a word or two how you are getting on with the examinations." And on March 1, 1840, he writes again, almost desperately: " See to it that you wake up! . . . End at last all loitering and negligence, which is nothing but insanity. You know that your examination is a mere farce. If you were only here we could talk matters over together." At the end of the same month he wrote again: " If you could come to Bonn this haunt would then probably become the chief object of universal attention, and we could from here, at the right time, bring about the crisis." It is evident that Bauer was contemplating some radical action and wished for Marx's assistance. " The dogs could not do anything against us; they fear us, but they are very vicious," he wrote. Marx continued to dally, however. During the summer of 1840 he devoted much time and thought to the controversy which had been waged with so much bitterness of feeling from the early thirties over the " heretical " works of the Catholic theologian, Georg Hermes, which were condemned by papal bulls in 1835. He began negotiations through Bauer for the publication of a work to be called *Hermesianismus,* but nothing came of it. Of a letter which he sent Bauer, to be given to the publishers, Bauer wrote: " You could very well write a similar letter to your washwoman, but not to publishers whom you expect to accept your work, and whose attention you have yet to attract." After many fruitless efforts on Bauer's part to secure a publisher for the work, the project was abandoned and Marx devoted himself with greater earnestness to the preparation of the thesis for his degree. This was a study of the Epicurean philosophy, radical and controversial in its character, and both Marx and Bauer feared that it would cause the withholding of the degree.

The letters which Bauer wrote to his friend at this period are full of warning and fear as to the result of submitting such a thesis.

Meantime, the King, Frederick William III, died on the 7th of June, 1840, and his son, Frederick William IV, ascended the throne. The accession of the new monarch gave rise to the wildest hopes on the part of the young liberal elements in the universities. As Prince, the new monarch had studied under Savigny and had been a warm patron of the arts. There was a popular movement of students at Berlin in favor of electing the new King rector of the university, and a petition inviting him to accept that position was drawn up by some of the students and forwarded to him. The severe punishment which was meted out to them for this showed at once how utterly misplaced their hopes had been. To discourage all liberal tendencies, reactionaries were appointed to the faculty, and, worse than all, in October, Eichhorn, a reactionary of reactionaries, was made Minister of Education. Laudenberg, who since May had been acting minister, had been disposed to appoint Bauer Professor of Theology at Bonn in spite of the protests of a conservative faculty, but with Eichhorn's appointment any hopes of such promotion which Bauer might have entertained fell to the ground.

This was quite as serious for Marx as for his friend. With reaction so strongly entrenched, what likelihood could there be of his radical and uncompromising essay securing a degree? Not to obtain the degree would be almost a calamity. Such a failure would almost certainly prejudice Jenny's family against him; it would make it difficult for him to obtain any kind of a position enabling him to provide a home for his beautiful bride-to-be, who had already waited for him so long; moreover, the need of helping his mother and his brothers and sisters was weighing heavily upon his mind. True, he might perhaps enlist the powerful support of Jenny's brother, Edgar von West-



QUOD
FELIX FAUSTUMQUE ESSE IUBEAT
SUMMUM NUMEN
AUCTORITATE
HUIC LITTERARUM UNIVERSITATI
AB
FERDINANDO I
IMPERATORE ROMANO GERMANICO
ANNO MDLVII CONCESSA
CLEMENTISSIMIS AUSPICIIS
SERENISSIMORUM
MAGNI DUCIS ET DUCUM SAXONIAE
NUTRITORUM ACADEMIAE IENENSIS
MUNIFICENTISSIMORUM
RECTORE ACADEMIAE MAGNIFICENTISSIMO
AUGUSTO ET POTENTISSIMO PRINCIPE AC DOMINO
CAROLO FRIDERICO
MAGNO DUCE SAXONIAE VIMARIENSIUM ATQUE ISENACENSIUM PRINCIPE LANDGRAVIO THURINGIAE
MARCHIONE MISNIAE PRINCIPALI DIGNITATE COMITE HENNEBERGAE
DYNASTA BLANKENHAYNII NEOSTADII AC TAUTENBURGI
PRORECTORE ACADEMIAE MAGNIFICO
VIRO PERILLUSTRI ATQUE AMPLISSIMO
ERNESTO REINHOLDO
PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORE ARTIUMQUE LIBERALIUM MAGISTRO
MAGNI DUCIS SAXONIAE VIMARIENSIS ET ISENACENSIS A CONSILIIS AULAE INTIMIS PHILOSOPHIAE PROFESSORE PUBLICO ORDINARIO
DECANO ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM ET BRABEUTA
MAXIME SPECTABILI
VIRO PERILLUSTRI ATQUE EXCELLENTISSIMO
CAROLO FRIDERICO BACHMANNO
PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORE
SERENISSIMI DUCIS SAX. ALTENBURGENSIS A CONSILIIS AULAE INTIMIS MORALIUM ET POLITICES PROFESSORE PUBLICO ORDINARIO INSTITUTORUM MAGNIDUCALIUM MINERALOGICORUM DIRECTORE INSTITUTI HISTORICI PARISIENSIS SOCIETATUM CAESAREAE PETROPOLITANAE MINERALOGICAE REGIAE DRESDENSIS MINERALOGICAE POLYTECHNICAE PARISIENSIS ARTIUM ET SCIENTIARUM PUBLICAE APUD TRAIECTINOS ARTIUM ET LITTERARUM GANDAVIENSIS SCIENTIARUM ET ARTIUM ANTVERPIENSIS MEDICORUM ET PHYSICORUM BRUXELLENSIS DOCTRINARUM DE RERUM NATURA PHILADELPHIENSIS IN AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALI ET LATINAE IENENSIS ALIARUMQUE SOCIO
ORDO PHILOSOPHORUM
VIRO PRAENOBILISSIMO ATQUE DOCTISSIMO
CAROLO HENRICO MARX
TREVIRENSI
DOCTORIS PHILOSOPHIAE HONORES
DIGNITATEM IURA ET PRIVILEGIA
INGENII DOCTRINAE ET VIRTUTIS SPECTATAE INSIGNIA ET ORNAMENTA
DETULIT
DELATA
PUBLICO HOC DIPLOMATE
CUI IMPRESSUM EST SIGNUM ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM
PROMULGAVIT
IENAE DIE XV M. APRILIS A. MDCCCXLI.
TYPIS BRANII

Karl Marx's Diploma as Doctor of Philosophy

phalen, who had always been friendly to him, but he could not bring himself to seek that, regarding it as a great humiliation.

Just at this time Bauer visited Berlin and spent a long vacation of several months with his friend. Bauer foresaw the troublous times ahead of the radical movement, and realized that Eichhorn's failure to promote him would probably be followed by the revocation of his license to teach. He urged Marx on with his thesis, and tried to induce him to make it as moderate and conservative as possible. But Marx, even though he saw the wisdom of the advice of his friend, and the futility of beating his head again a stone wall, was resolute; what he felt, that would he write! Bauer urged the enlistment of Edgar von Westphalen's powerful influence, but Marx was obdurate, rejecting the proposal with all the scorn of his youthful, independent spirit.

Marx now conceived a plan for obtaining his degree away from Berlin. It would be easy, he thought, to secure a doctor's degree at some small university, almost immediately. After that, he could join Bauer at Bonn, perhaps as tutor at the university, but if not that, then as editor of the long-contemplated periodical. That he could obtain a position at the university seemed almost beyond hope: he was Bauer's friend, and that would prove an insurmountable obstacle. Only in the event of some powerful influence winning Eichhorn's friendship for him was such an appointment likely. A letter from Bauer, dated March 28, 1841, expresses approval of Marx's plans and proceeds: "Above everything, try to remove all the obstructions in your way. See if you cannot win Eichhorn to your side. When the people here once know that one of the men higher up is in your favor, then everything else will be well. I can no longer witness all that is going on here, and this very summer the periodical must come into existence. It is impossible to stand it any longer." Three days later he wrote again, intimating that he had thought of writing to

Jenny, but refrained out of solicitude for Marx. This probably refers to the plan of securing the support of Edgar von Westphalen, which was always in his mind.

In another letter, dated April the 12th, 1841, he again adjures Marx to be careful in the preparation of his dissertation. "But if your work is already in print," he says, "then let it go as it is and we will see how it will strike them. As the prophet says, 'Later everything, but now silence!' . . . Later you can knock them over their heads until they howl, but do not rise before the right time." The letter goes on to beg Marx to take immediate action: "Will it be possible for you to leave Berlin this month? Do everything in your power to be able to do so. It would relieve you, calm your bride, and make it still possible for you to get a place at Bonn. Eduard [1] will do almost anything. Give him the manuscript of your everlasting Work; let him attend to the printing and proof reading, and when everything is ready send it off to Jena so that they can send you the diploma to Treves or Bonn, or he might keep it for you in Berlin and send it to you whenever or wherever you desire. But you yourself do not have to stay in Berlin on account of these things."

Marx acted promptly enough this time. On the 15th of April he was at Jena and received his diploma as Doctor of Philosophy. Thus the first part of the ambitious programme was realized, but the friends were not destined to succeed with the remainder. Within a few weeks of Marx's graduation Bauer's work, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker,* appeared and precipitated a crisis. A furious storm of angry protest and denunciation went up from the faculty at Bonn and the author was removed from his position. Eichhorn, the Minister of Education, at once instituted a policy of increased academic repression in all the German universities, and very soon afterward Bauer's license to teach was revoked. The blow was a severe one for Marx. An academic career,

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[1] Eduard Bauer, Bruno's younger brother.

either at Bonn or elsewhere, was now clearly out of the question, and equally impossible was the publication of the periodical which he and Bauer had planned, for the reactionary policy was applied to the philosophical press as well as to the universities.

Since 1838 Arnold Ruge had published, with his friend Echtermayer, the *Hallesche Jahrbücher für deutsche Kunst und Wissenschaft,* a liberal review of a very high degree of literary and philosophical excellence. Ruge, who was a young Hegelian and a poet, had spent five years in the fortress of Holberg for his activities in the movement for a free and united Germany. While Bauer, Marx, and some of the other more radical spirits were inclined severely to criticize its shortcomings, the *Hallesche Jahrbücher* was a great liberal force, detested by the orthodox party. Edited in Halle, it was published from Leipsic — a device by which the editors fancied they could escape censorship and keep the periodical beyond the reach of the Prussian government.

Not to be outwitted, the government ordered the publication in Leipsic to be stopped. As the periodical bore the name *Hallesche* Year Book, it must be published from Halle, and be subject to the censorship there. Ruge — for Echtermayer ceased to be associated with him — moved to Dresden and in July 1841 issued the first number of the review from that city under a new title, the *Deutsche Jahrbücher.* Perhaps because he was now free to consult only his own wishes, Ruge made the review more radical than before, greatly to the satisfaction of Bauer and Marx. Still there were the rigid restrictions of the censorship which made the publication of many important articles impossible. Ruge therefore arranged for the publication of a special edition containing such radical articles as could not be published in Germany. To this edition Ruge, Bauer, Feuerbach, Marx and others contributed. Especially radical was the poetry of the period which was published in the Year Book. Heine, Hoffman von Fallersleben, and Georg Herwegh con-

tributed songs and verses which served to inspire the radical elements with an intense passion. If Herwegh was less of a poet than Heine, or even than Hoffman von Fallersleben, he was much more of a political agitator, and his verse presented the issues of the time more directly and forcibly. When he travelled he was acclaimed by cheering multitudes who regarded him as the prophet of a new order.

Herwegh sought and obtained audience with the King at Berlin. It is said that, according to royal etiquette, he was not permitted to say anything unless asked by the King to speak, and that the monarch gave him no chance to speak, saying simply: "I esteem an open opposition, and I wish you success: we want honest enemies." In spite of this, a paper Herwegh was about to issue was suppressed, and when he wrote to the King, reminding him of his words, so recently spoken, the poet was arrested and subjected to great indignities. The papers that published Herwegh's letter to the King were vigorously persecuted. Alarmed by the trend of events, Ruge moderated the tone of his periodical, making it more conservative, but to no avail. It was suppressed in 1843 by order of the Saxon government.

Owing to the rush of events, and the sudden development of the crisis at Bonn, so soon after his graduation at Jena, the essay upon the Epicurean philosophy with which he qualified for his Doctor's degree was not printed. Most of the manuscript still exists, but vitally important parts are missing. From the manuscript of an introduction to the essay, written, probably, after the *Communist Manifesto,* it is evident that Marx still hoped to publish it. The struggle to obtain the Doctor's degree necessary to an academic career had, so far as his immediate purpose was concerned, been in vain. The crisis at Bonn and the reactionary triumph made an academic life impossible for him. Journalism and political agitation were destined to claim the next few years of his life.

IV

JOURNALISM — POLITICS — SOCIALISM

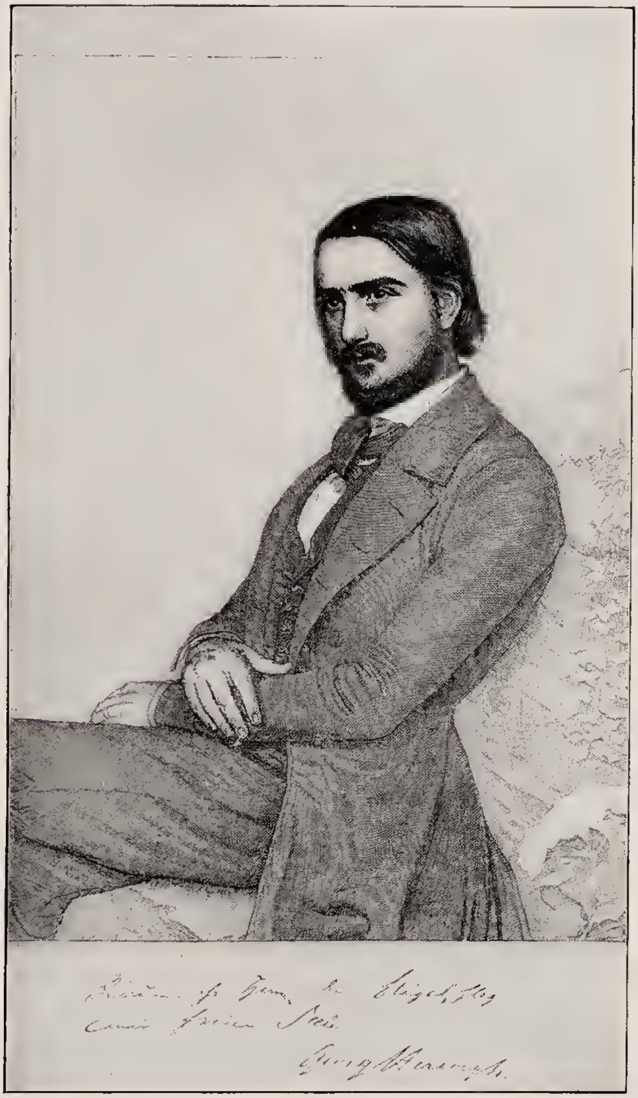
MARX now turned to political journalism for his livelihood. The most advanced of the bourgeois Radicals of the Rhine province had started a daily political newspaper, the *Rhenische Zeitung,* for the promotion of their ideas. The paper represented no particular school of thought, but drew to itself all dissatisfied and protesting elements. Among its contributors whose names are of historic interest were Bruno Bauer, Friedrich Koppen, Max Stirner, Moses Hess, Georg Herwegh and Marx, who was probably the youngest of them all.

It was not long before the superiority of Marx's literary style and his journalistic talent began to assert themselves, and in October, 1842, he was made editor-in-chief. No sooner had he entered upon his duties in that position than he began a vigorous fight for the freedom of the press, attacking the rigid censorship with merciless logic and biting satire. "You accept the greatness and power of Nature," he wrote, "without demanding that the rose should bloom like the thistle. But you do demand that different mighty spirits should follow one narrow path." The attack was so bold and so brilliant that it attracted attention all over Germany, a new star had appeared in the sky of political journalism. Within a week or two after Marx assumed the editorship, the inevitable happened and warning came from the censor that unless the tone of the paper improved at once it would be suppressed. But Marx was not dismayed. With consummate skill, he kept up his attacks upon the restrictions placed upon the freedom of the press, and yet managed to keep within the bounds of safety.

This, however, could not last long. An unusually vigorous attack upon the police brought further interference and fresh warning, but Marx kept bravely on, denouncing the frauds and outrages from which the peasants suffered, and bitterly arraigning the government. On January 28, 1843, a notice appeared at the head of the paper to the effect that by order of the imperial censor the *Rhenische Zeitung* would be discontinued on the first of April. At the same time the local censor was ordered to examine each issue of the paper as it left the press and, in the event of anything appearing contrary to his view of what was proper, to suppress the edition at once.

Naturally the stockholders of the paper were alarmed. At a meeting held on the 17th of February it was decided to ask for the resignation of the editor-in-chief, and steps were taken to secure the revocation of the order of suppression. Letters were sent to the King, delegations and committees visited the Minister of the Public Press at Berlin, petitions were signed by influential persons, but all to no avail. On the 23rd of March, a few days after Marx left the paper, the last issue of the *Rhenische Zeitung* made its appearance. "The cloak of radicalism has fallen, and the almighty despotism stands naked before the eyes of the entire world," wrote Marx to Ruge, who replied: "The entire press of Germany could not, on account of one or two officials, nor even the King, be suppressed. It is done with the consent, and in the name, of the whole population. If the opposition in the publishing world wishes to open new battle-fields, it must do so outside of Germany."

Ruge was thinking of a revival of his Year Book. As he had previously published the radical section of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* from Switzerland, it was quite natural that his thought should run to Zürich as the best place from which to issue such a publication. But Marx, who was much the better politician, strongly urged that Zürich was not a safe or desirable place. He pointed out that the expulsion of Herwegh



Georg Herwegh

from Zürich in February was but one of numerous indications of the subservience of the Swiss government to the wishes and orders of Berlin, and that freedom of political discussion was well nigh as impossible in Zürich as in Berlin. Marx was restive and anxious to enter the political fray, and argued that Paris alone offered the necessary freedom for such a publication as they contemplated.

Undoubtedly Marx had another reason for desiring to issue the journal from Paris. During his brief occupation of the editorial chair of the *Rheinische Zeitung* he had published an enthusiastic and laudatory article upon Lorenz von Stein's book, *Social Movements in France,* which severely criticised the socialism of Fourier and Saint-Simon. But he had also published several articles in which the Socialist theories of Fourier and Saint-Simon were rather freely praised. For this he was very strongly rebuked, and efforts were made to induce him to attack those theories editorially. This he refused to do, upon the ground that he had not sufficiently studied them, and was accused of being himself a Socialist. This he denied in an editorial setting forth his position. That Stein's book had awakened in him a strong sympathetic interest in the subject cannot be denied. Not only that, but he was already mastered by a passionate resentment of social misery and injustice, and the articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in which he voiced the cry of "the poor dumb millions," hounded by the police and robbed by their poverty of opportunity to develop their mental and spiritual powers, read strangely like the customary Socialist indictment of modern society.

He desired, then, to move to Paris that he might make a careful study of the communistic theories and movements of the time. Ruge, upon his part, agreed, the idea of an intellectual Franco-German alliance for philosophical and political freedom making a strong and successful appeal to his imagination. Accordingly, it was arranged that Ruge should proceed to Paris to interest as many radical thinkers as possible in the

new venture, and to arrange for the early publication of the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher,* and that Marx should follow within a couple of months, after his marriage with Jenny von Westphalen. Meantime, he wrote and published anonymously a brilliant and violent attack upon the Prussian censorship. The article, signed "Rhinelander," appeared in the *Anekoda zur Neuester Deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik* von Bruno Bauer, Ludwig Feuerbach, Friedrich Koppen, Karl Nauwerk, Arnold Ruge and einigen Ungenannten, 1843.

In the summer of 1843 he married Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen — to give her full name — and, after a brief honeymoon, and the conventional trip to Bingen on the Rhine, the young couple went to Paris, arriving there in the autumn. They were warmly welcomed by Ruge, and Marx immediately became one of the most influential members of a notable group of radicals, including Heinrich Heine, the poet, Michael Bakunin and Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the Anarchist philosophers, and Étienne Cabet, the famous Utopist. His intercourse with Heine and Proudhon was especially intimate. The former visited him almost daily, while his discussions with the latter, whom he says he "infected with Hegelianism, greatly to his hurt, since not knowing German, he could not study the matter thoroughly," often lasted all through the night. Just what influence Proudhon in turn exercised upon Marx is largely a matter of conjecture.

It seems probable that Proudhon's severely critical attitude toward the Utopian Socialism of Fourier and Saint-Simon helped Marx to a clear definition of his own position. That Marx was profoundly interested by Saint-Simon's ideas we know. If the mystical and hierarchical features of the "New Christianity" repelled him, there was much in the French thinker's works to win his ready sympathy, intellectual assent and generous admiration. He who had written so eloquently in the *Rhenische Zeitung* of the "poor dumb millions" could not fail to give sympathetic hearing to Saint-Simon, whose chief

concern — at least in his *Le Nouveau Christianisme* — was for the workers, "the class that is the most numerous and the most poor." In his *Geneva Letters,* published in 1802, Saint-Simon had written of the French Revolution from a point of view which Marx had been gradually approaching. Instead of treating it as a struggle between the nobility and the bourgeoisie, Saint-Simon had described the great struggle as a class war between the possessing and non-possessing masses, nobility and bourgeoisie against the non-possessors. He who was so soon to formulate the theory that history is the record of a succession of class struggles saw in Saint-Simon's view of the French Revolution the mark of profound wisdom.

Nor was that all. During the troubled times of 1814 and 1815, with rare courage and political prescience, Saint-Simon had advocated an alliance of France with England, to be followed by the alliance of both with Germany, thus constituting a triple alliance which could secure and guarantee the peace of Europe. As Engels has well said, "to preach to the French in 1815 an alliance with the victors of Waterloo required as much courage as historical foresight." Above all, in 1817, Saint-Simon had declared, in *L'Industrie,* that politics is the science of production, and that politics would be completely absorbed by economics, thus indicating that he perceived, even though but dimly, that political institutions are the results of economic conditions — a remarkably near approach to the great theory of the economic interpretation of history which Marx later made the corner stone of his philosophy.

With these facts in mind, it is easy to understand the tremendous influence of the Saint-Simonian teaching upon Marx, in spite of the religious mysticism which enveloped it. Just so it is easy to understand how his admiration for Fourier's keen criticisms of the prevailing system, which showed that poverty is the paradoxical result of plethora, and his conception of historical development, dwarfed and triumphed over the contempt with which he regarded the fantastic elements of Fourierism.

Proudhon's criticisms of the Socialism of Saint-Simon and Fourier were, doubtless, of great help to Marx, and it is probable that long discussions in which the two were engaged were quite as profitable to Marx as to Proudhon. In England and America it has been rather the fashion of late years for Socialists to speak of the French writer with lofty disdain and contempt, and to deny him the merit he deserves. Marx himself, in a letter published in the *Sozialdemokrat,* of Berlin, in 1865, likens Proudhon to Feuerbach. He says: "Proudhon is to Saint-Simon and Fourier almost what Feuerbach is to Hegel. Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is very poor. Nevertheless, *after* Hegel, he made an epoch, because he accentuated certain points, disagreeable for the Christian conscience and important for philosophic progress, but which had been left by Hegel in an obscure and mystic light." It is therefore a not unimportant place which Marx assigned Proudhon, and that, too, after years of enmity.

It was some months before the Year Book appeared, two issues appearing together, as a double number, early in 1844, with contributions by Marx, Ruge, Heine, Bakunin, Herwegh, Feuerbach, Engels, and several others. No other issues of the publication ever appeared. Several causes conspired to the early failure of this most ambitious enterprise. First of all, the editors had failed to obtain the desired cooperation of prominent French writers; second, financial difficulties arose, the publisher had little capital for such an enterprise and the cost of transporting the books to Germany proved to be greater than had been anticipated. But more important than either of these causes was the disagreement of the editors. Ruge was bitterly disappointed at his colleague's definite acceptance of Socialism. They were an ill-matched pair, each pulling in a different direction. The two quarrelled, and Ruge spoke with much bitterness of his old associate and friend for many years afterward. What justice, if any, there was in Ruge's strictures will probably never be known. Marx seems never



Claude Henri Saint-Simon



François Marie Charles Fourier

to have given his side, and Ruge was peculiarly unreliable. He was an irascible man, capable of the most petty jealousies, constantly quarrelling and extremely abusive. His abuse of Herwegh was hardly less violent than that which he heaped upon Marx. It is perhaps enough to say that Ruge was petty and irascible, and that Marx was imperious and tempestuous.

Two essays by Marx appeared in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher,* each of great importance to the serious student of his life. The first essay was an introduction to a criticism of Hegel's *Philosophy of Law.* Its dominant note was an argument that theological criticism was rapidly being replaced, of necessity, by political criticism. The influence of Feuerbach is strongly apparent throughout, but it strikes an original and independent note, also. In it we see that he had begun to formulate his theory of the materialistic conception, or, more aptly, economic interpretation, of history. How far he had advanced toward the definite formulation of his theory may be gathered from his statement that "revolutions need a passive element, a material basis," and his insistence that the "relation of industry" and of wealth in general to the political world is "the chief problem of modern times." The trend of his thought is clearly evident; we see, as it were, the theory of history which bears his name in the making.

The second essay was a searching criticism of Bruno Bauer's treatment of the Jewish question. Bauer had contended with much subtlety and brilliance that the social emancipation of the Jew was dependent upon the emancipation of the Jew from Judaism. Thus Bauer made the matter one of religion, of theology. Marx, on the other hand, contended, with equal subtlety and brilliance, that the Jewish question was essentially an economic one. The social emancipation of the Jews was to be expected as a result of the emancipation of the Jew from "practical Judaism," that is, from commercialism and usury. It is noteworthy that he argues that the great importance of

the French Revolution lay not only in freeing the political forces, but also the economic foundations upon which the political superstructure rested. The attack upon Bauer's position was trenchant and almost scornful, but it did not destroy the friendship of the two men. That remained unbroken and firm during many years, in spite of an even more caustic critique which followed a year later.

It was in September, 1844, that Marx met for the first time the man whose name and deeds are so inseparably interwoven with his own that to write the life of one is practically to write the life of both — Friedrich Engels. The two men had already had some correspondence during the days when Marx was editing the *Rhenische Zeitung,* to which Engels contributed, but this was their first meeting. Engels was born at Barmen, in the Rhine province, on the 28th of November, 1820, the son of a manufacturer who was part owner of a large cotton mill in Manchester, England. Educated at the "Realschule" at Barmen and the Gymnasium at Elberfeld for a commercial career, he had not neglected classical studies. During a period of apprenticeship spent in a mercantile establishment at Berlin, and while undergoing the year's military service required at that time, he devoted all his leisure to philosophical studies and became one of the most enthusiastic of the younger members of the Young Hegelians, writing some clever letters to the *Rhenische Zeitung.* In 1842 he went to England to take up a position in the factory owned by his father's firm and immediately sought to connect himself with the radical elements there. The Chartist movement, already declining, interested him and he became a warm admirer of Feargus O'Connor, the brilliant but erratic leader of the Chartists, writing for his paper, the *Northern Star.* He also formed the acquaintance of Robert Owen, then an old man, to whom he became greatly attached. He wrote for Owen's paper, the *New Moral World,* and always spoke of him in later years in terms of admiration and sincere affection. Dur-

ing the period, 1842–1844, Engels made an exhaustive study of English industrial conditions and upon his return to his home in Barmen, in 1844, set about shaping the results of his investigations into a book which, under the title *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,* was published in Germany in 1845. The book stands to this day as a classic example of sociological analysis and description.

That we may understand the spontaneity of the close friendship which developed between the two men, it is necessary to visualize, as it were, their respective mental attitudes. From some letters of Marx, Ruge, Feuerbach and Bakunin, which were published as an introduction to the Year-Book, we see Marx already opposing the sterile " dogmatism " of the Socialism of the period, and urging the need of definite political action of the workers. Just as in the article on Hegel he pointed to the development of a proletarian political movement in France as soon as the industrial evolution had created a sufficiently numerous proletariat, so in the letters he wrote to the same effect: " Nothing prevents us from combining our criticism with the criticism of politics, from participating in politics, and consequently in real struggles," he said. " We will not, then, oppose the world like doctrinarians with a new principle: here is truth, kneel down here! We expose new principles to the world out of the principles of the world itself. We don't tell it: Give up your struggles, they are rubbish, we will show you the true war cry! We explain to it only the real object for which it struggles, and consciousness is a thing it *must* acquire even if it objects to it."

Thus Marx. The germs of the central doctrines of the famous *Communist Manifesto* are already apparent. It is significant, too, that Marx, who has been criticised for his " dogmatism " and " doctrinarianism," should have begun thus early to oppose both — a fight which he waged to the very last, as we shall see. Engels, on his part, had come independently to a similar position. In his studies of the English

working class movements he had reached the conclusion that the political movement represented by Chartism, and the social movement represented by Owenism, needed to unite upon a higher plane, though, it is curious to note, he had small friendship for the one man of the time who was trying to accomplish that end, James Bronterre O'Brien, the eloquent and scholarly advocate of Chartism, who pointed out the economic significance of that great struggle and was the first to coin and use the now formidable political term "Social-Democracy." How nearly Engels had already approached the intellectual position of Marx, the conclusions which both later embodied in the *Communist Manifesto,* may be seen from this passage, one of many which might as aptly be cited: "Socialism in its present form can never accomplish anything for the labouring class; it would never lower itself to stand for an instant on the basis of Chartism. The union of this Owenism, the reproduction in an English form of the French Communism, must be the next step, and has already begun." In the Year Book, too, he had published the outline of a historical criticism of political economy. Crude as the outline is, and despite the evidence it affords of the young author's lack of preparation for such an ambitious task, it is significant as showing how Engels, like Marx, had come to feel the whole question of Socialism to be an economic one.

When, therefore, Engels made a brief visit to Marx in Paris, on his way home to Barmen, in the autumn of 1844, they were already in close agreement upon all the fundamental points of what was henceforth to be their joint lifework. It is not strange that this intellectual agreement should have given rise to feelings of friendship and mutual regard. But it is not so easy to account for the *intensity* of their friendship, the romantic attachment which bound their lives together as one, ironclad, and impregnable. Outwardly, the two men differed greatly: Marx was rather tall (not "short" as Albert Brisbane described him) and stout; Engels was taller,

but thin; Marx was so dark (not a "blonde" as the Italian writer, Croce, describes him!) that his friends nicknamed him "Negro"; Engels was a pronounced blonde. They were, as Engels himself has remarked, men of different, but fortunately complementary, temperaments, habits and gifts, and the division of labour which took place enabled each to serve the other, making one well-rounded whole. In modern times there has not been another example of friendship so romantic and beautiful, and cooperation so loyal, between men of equal intellectual power and achievement. This is the more remarkable in view of the popular view that Marx was heartless and unlovable — a view as false as Signor Croce's picture of the "blonde" Marx!

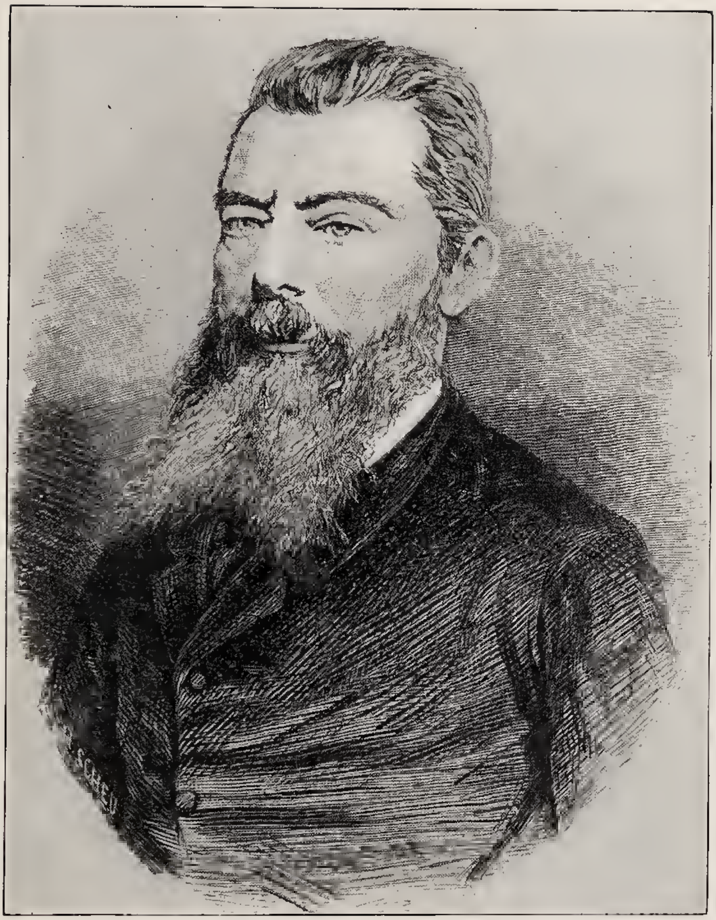
Before Engels returned to his home in Barmen, the two friends planned and actually began a work setting forth their attitude toward their former associates of the Young Hegelian school, and against Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner and Ludwig Feuerbach in particular. This work was to mark their definite separation from the idealism of the whole Hegelian school of thought. Although the complete work was never published, they served their immediate purpose by publishing, in 1845, at Frankfort-on-Main, their celebrated, but little known book, *The Holy Family; or a Review of the Critical Critique against Bruno Bauer and his Followers.* From a letter written by Engels to Marx on January 20, 1845, from Barmen, we learn that his share in the work was very small, consisting of "about a sheet and a half out of the whole." Considered as the production of young men, the book is a remarkable piece of critical work, alike by reason of its brilliant style and the great learning it displays. Though the share of Engels was small, it was the first fruit of a literary partnership unparalleled in modern times.

The importance of the little work for us lies in the evidence it affords of the development of the theory of historical materialism in the mind of Marx. In place of the brief and

almost vague hints which appeared in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* articles, there is a more positive and emphatic tone. There is an air of well-grounded assurance in the passage which points out the basic economic causes of the French Revolution, that the individual of the French Revolution differed from the individual of classic antiquity mainly because his economic and industrial conditions were different. The certitude and audacity common to his later polemical work is evident in the almost scornful manner in which he asks: " Do these gentlemen think that they can understand the first word of history so long as they exclude the relations of man to nature, natural science and industry? Do they believe that they can actually comprehend any epoch without grasping the industry of the period, the immediate method of production in actual life? "

The influence of Feuerbach is strongly marked throughout the book. There is some criticism of Feuerbach, but it is something of a shock for the reader of to-day to note the air of superiority which Marx adopts toward Hegel, whom he treats with ill-concealed disdain, and to compare with it the generous enthusiasm of his treatment of Feuerbach. At first this seems pitifully immature. We must, however, bear in mind the polemical character of the book. The controversial spirit and temper are not exactly conducive to a judicial estimate. Marx was anxious at the moment to discredit the Hegelian ideology and to emphasize the materialist factors. Later, when the controversial temper had passed away with the need for controversy, a juster estimate was possible. Marx could write then, in 1865, " Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is very poor. Nevertheless, *after* Hegel, he made an epoch, because he accentuated certain points . . . which had been left by Hegel in an obscure and mystic light."

So we must judge his failure to criticize the mechanical materialism of Feuerbach in the light of the controversial need of the moment, which *Die Heilige Familie* was written to



Ludwig Feuerbach

supply. That he recognised its weakness and sterility is evidenced by the manner in which he exposes the mechanical nature of the older French materialism, represented by Helvetius and Holbach, and points out that the Utopianism of Fourier and Babouef was its logical development. And in some notes made at about the same time, for the larger work he and Engels had in mind, he took up the same point, objecting to Feuerbach's view of religion upon the ground that Feuerbach failed to recognize that man is a product of his social relations, and that religion is itself a social outgrowth. He objects too, to the doctrine of the old mechanical materialists, that men are simply the products of their environment, because it does not take into account the fact that men can change their environment.

In order to obtain a clear, uninterrupted view of the early development of the thought of Marx, the mental process which culminated in the formulation of his famous theory of historical development, we have again outrun the chronology of events and must retrace our steps. Not long after the failure of the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher,* there appeared in Paris the first issue of a new radical magazine, the *Vorwärts,* designed to appeal to the large body of liberal-thinking Germans then resident in France. The publisher was Henry Bernstein, an actor, and among the earliest contributors were Heine, Herwegh, Hess, Bakunin, and Arnold Ruge who contributed a number of articles signed "A Prussian." Marx joined the staff of the new journal and at once began to attack the Prussian government.

It was not long before he became the editor of the paper, which, on account of its brilliant list of contributors, and its trenchant attacks upon the Prussian government, soon obtained great popularity and a large circulation in the radical circles of Germany. Naturally, the fierce attacks of Marx, Herwegh, Ruge, and others, upon the Prussian government, were not at all to the liking of the latter. Protests against per-

mitting the publication of the journal were lodged with the French government and the radicals in Germany were more oppressed than ever. A letter from Heine to Marx, one of the few still extant, is interesting for the light it throws upon the effect of the *Vorwärts'* attacks and exposures upon the mind and temper of reactionary Prussian officialdom.

The letter was written in September, 1844, from Hamburg, whither the poet had gone to visit the aged mother for whom his love was so tender and pathetic. It refers to the publication in the *Vorwärts* of some portions of the famous poem, *Deutschland, ein Wintermährchen,* many lines of which are said to have been inspired or suggested by Marx. This "Winter's Tale" is perhaps the most variously estimated of all Heine's writings. It has been praised as the greatest and condemned as the most inferior of his works. But, be the literary value of the poem what it may — it lies about midway between the two extremes already presented — Socialists will always read it with special interest and pleasure as the first of Heine's works to sound the clear, strong note of his Socialist faith. Its appearance stirred the hearts of German radicals everywhere, and made the reactionary government furious. It was Heine's first great challenge as "a soldier in the liberation war of Humanity."

Of more importance than the light it throws upon the relations of Heine and Marx, and of greater interest, for our present purpose, than the reference to the famous poem and the book, the *Neue Gedichte,* in which it appeared, are the references to the *Vorwärts,* and to the effect it had produced upon the official mind. It is evident that the poet believed that his connection with the paper made it exceedingly dangerous for him to remain in Germany. The letter reads:

"Hamburg, September 21, 1844.

"Dearest Marx: I am again suffering from my fatal eye-malady, and it is with great difficulty that I am scribbling these lines to you. However, whatever I have of importance to tell

you, I can tell you orally in the beginning of next month, for I am preparing to depart owing to anxiety caused by a hint from the powers that be — I have no desire to permit myself to be captured; my bones are not particularly adapted to wear iron rings, as Weitling wore them. He showed me the marks. They suspect that I had taken a greater part in the *Vorwärts* than I can boast of, and I must confess that this paper has the greatest faculty for provocation and compromising. What are we coming to when even Mäurer hedges! — more of this when we meet. If only no treachery is spun in Paris! My book is published, but it will not appear before ten or fourteen days, in order not to sound the alarm at once. I am sending to you, under separate cover, the advance sheets of the part dealing with politics, as well as of my great poem, for three reasons. Namely, in the first place, that you may amuse yourself; secondly, that arrangements may be made whereby the book should get into the German press; and thirdly, that you may, if you think it advisable, have the first part of the new poem printed in the *Vorwärts*.

"I believe that the poem can be reprinted up to the end of the sixteenth part, but you must bear in mind that the parts which treat of Cöllen — namely, stanzas 4, 5, 6 and 7 — must not be printed separately, but should appear in the same issue. The same should be observed in the case of the part which concerns Rothbart — namely, stanzas 14, 15 and 16 — which should also be printed in one number. Please write a word of introduction to these extracts. The first part of the book, which contains only romances and ballads, and which will please your wife, I shall bring to Paris with me. (Kindly give my friendliest greetings to your wife; I am glad that I shall see her soon again. I trust that the coming winter will be a happier one for us than the last.)

"Campe is making still another reprint of the poem, in which the censor had stricken out several lines, and I have written a very frank explanation. I have thrown down the gauntlet to the 'Nationalists' with great determination. I shall send you this later, as soon as it is printed. Please write to Hess (I do not know his address) that as soon as he receives my book he should do everything in his power to work the press along the Rhine, should the 'wolves' attempt to devour it. I beg of you also to enlist Jungh to write a favourable article. In

case you sign your name to the introduction in the *Vorwärts*, you may say that I just sent you the advance sheets. You will of course understand why, under different circumstances, I should prefer to withhold this statement. I wish you would try to find Weil and tell him in my name that I have just to-day received his letter, which had gone to the wrong Henri Heine (there are many of them here). I shall see him again in person within fourteen days, and, in the meantime, he should not permit anything to be published about me, especially with reference to my new poem. I should like to write him before my departure if my eyes permitted me. Kindliest regards to Bernays. I am glad to get away. I have already sent my wife to France, to her mother, who is on her deathbed. Keep well, my friend, and excuse my scribbling. I cannot read what I have written — but, surely, we do not require many signs in order to understand each other.

"Cordially,

"(Signed) H. HEINE."[1]

A fortnight later Heine returned to Paris and at once resumed his old habit of making a daily call upon Marx and his wife. These were not social calls merely, the poet was leaning heavily upon the critical judgment of his two friends, and scarcely one of his verses at this period escaped their polishing influence. The poet would bring a new poem, a new stanza, or even a new line, and read it to his friends, who would dissect and criticize, suggest changes or applaud and approve as the case might be. They would go over a verse or a line an almost incredible number of times, weighing word-values, making experimental changes until all three were satisfied and the work pronounced worthy of the poet.

The admiration of Jenny Marx for the poet was even more ardent than that of her husband. He fascinated her because, as she said, he was "so modern," while Heine was drawn to her because she was "so sympathetic." Marx, as we know, was nothing if not critical, and there were times when the se-

[1] From *Die Neue Zeit,* 14. Jahrgang, Erster Band. Stuttgart, 1896.

verity of his criticisms hurt the feelings of the supersensitive poet, even when he recognised their justice. At such times he turned with childlike appeal for sympathy to the austere critic's gentler wife, whose affection and good sense always restored him to good humor. Sometimes the hurt came from other quarters, and then Marx joined his wife in pouring the soothing balm of friendship upon the poet's wounds. On more than one occasion the attack of some obscure journalist brought the poet to his friends weeping and disconsolate. Then husband and wife joined in the work of consolation, and Marx revealed that tender and lovable side of his nature which only his most intimate friends ever saw. "Marx is the tenderest, gentlest man I have ever known," Heine is reported to have said on one occasion.

A story is told of Heine at this period which will interest all lovers of the great poet. It is said that soon after his return from Hamburg he called at the Marx home one day and found both his friends weeping with wild despair. With the faithful Helene Demuth they were anxiously waiting for a physician to come and helplessly watching their firstborn, little Jenny, then only a few months old, in the tortures of a violent cramp. Heine, so the story goes, took in the whole situation at a glance, declared that the child needed a hot bath, and at once prepared it with his own hands. Skilfully and tenderly he took the suffering infant and bathed it, while the parents looked on with admiration and gratitude. When the doctor came the child was sleeping peacefully and needed no further treatment. Heine's action, the physician declared, had saved the child's life. So runs the story, and it is a pity that it lacks verification and is probably greatly exaggerated, if not altogether apocryphal.

The hint in Heine's letter of treachery which he feared might be hatched in Paris was no phantom of a frightened mind. In January, 1845, M. Guizot, the French Prime Minister, at the request of the Prussian government, suppressed the

Vorwärts and ordered the immediate expulsion of almost the whole staff, Marx among the number. It is said that the request for the expulsion of the troublesome journalists was made by the celebrated philosopher, Alexander von Humboldt, whose intimate friendship with Louis Philippe and his own monarch, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, made him an ideal person to carry out many a delicate diplomatic mission.

As soon as he was expelled from France, Marx betook himself to Brussels with his wife and their child, Jenny, then eight months old, and was soon afterwards joined by Friedrich Engels. In Brussels he found Ferdinand Freiligrath, "the poet of rhymed hatred," who had lived there in exile since the suppression of the *Rhenische Zeitung*. He visited Freiligrath for a week or more, and a letter from the poet to a friend, written at the time, says: "For the last week or so we have had Marx here with us. He is a very interesting and promising young man." The friendship thus begun lasted many years, even when Freiligrath, in 1870, published his *Hurrah Germania!* and became the war-poet, to the dismay and disgust of his former companions in the revolutionary movement.

Possibly because of a keen memory of the days when he himself wrestled with the muses, and hoped to become a great poet, Marx was always very tolerant and charitable in his judgments of poets. Inconsistencies which in ordinary mortals he would have condemned with all his powers of satire and invective, he tolerated in poets, treating them lightly with indulgent excuses. When, for example, some of his friends bitterly arraigned Heine for some inconsistency, he told them: "You cannot measure a poet by the standard of humanity at large, nor even that of exceptional individuals. He stands out, in a class all by himself." Was he not speaking from experience — remembering the bitter struggle and the isolation of those days when he wrote love songs to his beloved Jenny?

Marx remained in Brussels for three years — until the proverbial "long arm of the Prussian government" once more



Heinrich Heine

reached him and forced him again to wander. The second child, Laura, now Madame Lafargue, was born there, in September, 1845, and, probably in 1847,[1] the boy, Edgar, whose early death was such a cruel blow to Marx and his devoted wife. Taken all in all, those three years were among the most important and eventful of his life.

[1] I say "probably in 1847" because Madame Lafargue, the only child now living, prefers it. The exact date of the child's birth is not known.

V

THE BIRTH CRY OF MODERN SOCIALISM

MARX had been poor enough in Paris, and naturally the cost of moving to Brussels and establishing himself there was a burden he was ill-equipped to bear. He had not been in Brussels long before he received a letter from Engels, written from Barmen and dated February 22, 1845, with a substantial and welcome remittance. The letter is of interest to us, not merely as throwing light upon the affairs of Marx, but also because it reveals the warm and generous nature of his friend and gives us a picture of the Communist activities at this transitional stage:

"DEAR MARX: I have just succeeded in getting your address from Cologne, after long writing for it hither and thither, and I at once sit down to write you a letter. As soon as the news came of your expulsion I felt it necessary to get up a subscription immediately, in order to secure that the extra cost to yourself should be borne by us all in common. This has made good progress. I do not know whether this will be enough to complete your household arrangements in Brussels, but it is of course understood that my first English fee, which I hope soon to get paid, at any rate in part, is most gladly at your disposal. I can do without it for the moment; my father must help us to that extent. At all events, the brutes shall not have the satisfaction of bringing you into pecuniary straits through their infamy.

"Now not another word about the whole contemptible business. Kriege will be with you by the time you receive this. The fellow is a famous agitator and he will tell you a great deal about Feuerbach. I had a letter from Feuerbach on the day after you left here; I had written him beforehand. He says he must first abolish the religious residue entirely before

he can touch the question of Communism in the way of advocating it in his writings. At Baiern he is too much shut away from life in general to be able to come out very far. Even if he is a Communist, the question remains as to how he could act upon that belief. But if possible he is coming to the Rhine this summer, and then if he gets near Brussels we will soon bring him along.

"Here in Elberfeld wonders have come to pass. Yesterday we held our third Communist meeting in the largest hall and first hotel in the town. The first numbered 40, the second 130, the third 200 persons. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen were represented, from the bankers to the grocers, scarcely excluding the proletariat even. Hess gave a lecture; poems from Müller and Püttmann were read, with selections from Shelley; and even the article on the communal colonies already existing in Bürgerbuche. The discussion afterwards lasted till one o'clock. The thing was a colossal success. People are talking of nothing but Communism, and each day brings us more supporters. In the Wupperthal Communism is a fact; it will soon be a power. You can have no idea what favourable soil it has found here. How long it may take to get any results, I do not know; but the police are in any case entirely baffled, not knowing what to do about it; and the Chief Commissioner is gone to Berlin. But even under prohibition, we could easily evade it; and in any case we have made such a stir that everything that is published in our interest will be eagerly read."

Another picture of the same kind is contained in a letter dated February 26, in which Engels writes:

"Yesterday morning the Mayor prohibited Frau Obermayer from holding any meeting on her premises; and warned me that if in spite of this a meeting should be held, an arrest and prosecution would follow. We have, of course, carried out our programme and must wait and see whether we are arrested, which I hardly think likely, for we were sharp enough to give them no handle, so that the whole affair could only end in a complete fiasco for the Government. Moreover, the public prosecutors and the whole county court were present, and the Chief Procurator himself took part in the discussion."

On the 20th of January Engels had written:

"The latest idea is that Hess and I should bring out a monthly magazine, from April 1st onward, to be published by Messrs. Thieme & Batz, at Hague. In this *Gesellschaft-spiegel* the social miseries and bourgeois rulers are to be shown up. Prospectus, etc., shortly. The thing can be edited with very little trouble. As for material, we shall find collaborators enough; we have some work by us, and can easily do more to fill the sheet."

The *Gesellschaftspiegel* "died aborning." On the 7th of March, Engels wrote again:

"The *Critical Critique* is not yet here. The new title, *The Holy Family,* will involve me still farther in family difficulties with my already exasperated parents. Naturally you could not know this. In the advertisement you have put my name first — why? I have done next to nothing towards it, and everybody will recognize your style."

In the middle of March, *The Holy Family* appeared and Engels wrote once more, protesting that his friend's generosity had placed him in rather a false position, since he could not fairly be regarded as part-author, as that term is usually understood. Then, at the beginning of April, he joined Marx in Brussels, having abandoned the plan of going to Bonn University of which he had written a month previously, as well as the commercial career which his father had intended him to pursue. He could not tolerate the "atmosphere" of Barmen, he said, at which we shall not wonder if we remember that Barmen was regarded as a very "pious" city, and that his family was very orthodox and highly conservative and respectable. It was hardly an agreeable place for a young man who entertained ultra-radical views!

The two friends at once began to make plans for the organization of such a working class movement as Marx in the *Deutsche-Französisiche Jahrbücher,* and Engels in his criticisms of the English working-class movement, had foreshadowed.

Marx had, so Engels has told us, fully worked out his theory of the materialistic interpretation of history by this time, and some work was done upon the more elaborate critique of the post-Hegelian philosophy which they had planned in Paris the previous year. This was interrupted, however, by a six weeks' visit to England.

Engels had to attend to some business affairs in England and arrange for the removal of his library, and was accompanied by Marx. It was then, in the summer of 1845, that Marx made his first acquaintance with the economic writings of the English radicals of the Ricardian School which exercised such a profound influence upon his thought and work. Engels, it will be remembered, had already conceived the idea of writing an elaborate criticism of English political economy, and had published an introductory essay to such a study in the German-French Year Book. Marx read during the English visit the extracts which Engels had made for that study, and a great many things contained in his friend's fine library and other libraries in Manchester and elsewhere. Always an omnivorous reader, he read during the whole of this period with almost feverish intensity. "He gorged himself with the passion of an insatiable glutton," was the way Engels described it many years later in conversation with a friend. To what purpose he read was revealed two years later by his crushing reply to Proudhon.

Returning to Brussels in the early autumn of 1845, the two friends set to work to complete their criticism of the post-Hegelian philosophy. When at last it was completed — two big octavo volumes — the manuscript was sent to a Westphalian publisher who had undertaken to bring it out. It remained with the publisher a long time and then the authors received word that altered conditions forbade its publication. The publication of the book was postponed indefinitely. "We abandoned the manuscript to the stinging criticism of the mice," says Marx, "the more readily because we had accomplished

our main purpose — the clearing of the question to ourselves."

Meantime they were working earnestly upon the task which had for so long lain upon their hearts. They established connections with the radical democrats of the city, Marx becoming vice-president of the Democratic Society. They organized a German Workingmen's Club, a sort of labor union, and secured the editorial control of the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung,* a radical weekly paper published by German radicals. They had already a fairly numerous following among the " Intellectuals " of France and Germany, but, as Engels once wrote, it was important that they should win to their views the proletariat of Europe in general, and of Germany in particular.

It is difficult to present a connected and convincing picture of their activity at this time. Both wrote for the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* and other organs of the German proletariat, as well as for the French socialist paper, *Réforme,* edited by Flocon, with whom Marx had been on intimate terms during his stay in Paris. Marx devoted much time to economic studies, carried on an extensive correspondence with the radical leaders of half Europe, lectured occasionally, and taught classes of workingmen the elements of political economy.

He was a born teacher. Not only was he wonderfully patient and kindly, contrary to the accepted view, but he possessed to a degree that was quite remarkable the ability to make the most abstract and abstruse matters clear and interesting to the ordinary untrained mind. He insisted upon small classes of earnest and industrious students. No one could hope to be tolerated if he shirked the work required by the teacher; every student must by hard work prove himself worthy. But if he was severe in this respect, true teacher that he was, no trouble was too great for him to take for the benefit of his pupils. By the aid of a blackboard, and the use of simple, non-technical terms, he succeeded in making himself understood, even by unskilled laborers, men who had been denied educational ad-

vantages. He was not a popular lecturer, and rather shrank from addressing large audiences as a severe ordeal, but occasionally he did so with good effect. One of his lectures, the *Discourse Upon Free Trade,* is still widely circulated as a pamphlet in various countries, although more than sixty years have elapsed since it was delivered.

Among the members of the Brussels German Workingmen's Club was the celebrated Wilhelm Weitling, "the Communist tailor." Weitling was a man of great natural talent, one of the most remarkable agitators of the nineteenth century. Born in 1808 in humble circumstances, he was almost entirely self-educated. Early in the thirties he became a Communist, his conversion being due, it is said, to the activities of Albert Brisbane, the brilliant friend and disciple of Fourier. During a visit to Berlin, Brisbane distributed copies of a French Communistic newspaper, *Le Globe*, and a copy of the paper fell into the hands of Weitling. In 1838 this poor tailor published, through a secret revolutionary society in Paris, his first book, *The World As It Is, and As It Might Be,* proclaiming his Communistic theories, a medley of Fourierism and Saint-Simonianism.

A more important work appeared from his pen in 1842, entitled *The Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom.* The book at once attracted wide attention, and gave Weitling a foremost place among the writers of the time in the hearts of the workers associated with radical and revolutionary movements. In the Paris *Vorwärts,* in 1844, Marx praised the book highly, comparing Weitling to the bourgeois philosophers and theologians of Germany — much to the disadvantage of the latter. "Let the jejune and feeble mediocrity of German political literature be compared with this incomparable and brilliant *début* of the German workingmen," he wrote. What won from Marx this high-sounding praise was simply the fact that Weitling's appeals were addressed to the workers as a class. While he

never systematized his thought into anything approaching the conscious theory of class struggles which Marx developed, instinctively he at times approached quite near it.

When Weitling came to Brussels, after his release from a long term of imprisonment in Switzerland on account of his conspiratory activities, it was natural that he should become associated with Marx and Engels and the German Workingmen's Club. It was not long, however, before a clash occurred. No small part of the history of Marx's life is made up of the record of such clashes and disrupted friendships, and superficial critics have jumped to the conclusion that he must have been of a quarrelsome, petty, and jealous temperament. Such conclusions are as absurd as they are unjust to Marx. Almost invariably his conflicts with fellow Socialists, no less than with enemies of the movement, were upon matters of principle, questions of theory or tactics into which the personal element entered as little as possible. In the case of Weitling, for example, his attack was not provoked by any jealousy or ill-feeling. Indeed, he respected the intrepid agitator very highly and often spoke of him in terms of admiration. The man's fine courage, magnetic eloquence, and tireless energy appealed strongly to Marx.

But Weitling represented in his person and teaching the old Utopianism. He was a product of that abortive "sentimental Socialism" which Marx felt was a hindrance to the development of a great proletarian political movement. Above all, he advocated that form of secret, conspiratory action which Mazzini represented, a conception of revolutionary action which Marx aimed to destroy, and upon which he waged war for many years afterward. It was substantially the same issue which later involved the fierce struggle against Kinkel and Willich, in the Communist Alliance, and still later Bakunin, in the International. It was Weitlingism rather than Weitling which Marx attacked with all his fierce energy. In an oral debate with Weitling, of which the Russian writer, Annencoff, has

given a most interesting account, Marx proved himself quite as formidable an opponent in that form of encounter as in written discussion, where he was so great a master.

Another notable revolutionist who visited Brussels in 1847 and attended some of the meetings of the Workingmen's Club was Bakunin, with whom Marx had become intimate during his stay in Paris three years before. Bakunin, who had been expelled from France, did not join the Club, maintaining a critical attitude toward the entire "Marxist circle." His sympathies were, naturally, with Weitling. While confining himself mainly to agitation among the Polish exiles in Brussels, stirring them to take action against Russia, he was more or less intimate with Marx and Engels, though the three could rarely agree upon any question of tactics.

Mention must be made here of a number of articles which Marx contributed in 1846–1847 to a monthly review, the *Westfalischer Dampfboot,* edited by Otto Lüning. The articles, which were all anonymous, form two distinct series. The first series is of interest mainly because in them Marx criticizes the manner in which the editor of a German Communistic paper, *Der Volkstribun,* one H. Kriege, dealt with the Anti-Rent Riots in New York and elsewhere, and the agrarian question. Marx writes from a point of view of historical materialism, and severely criticizes Kriege for his failure to perceive the necessary and inevitable connection between economic and political phenomena. The second series is devoted to a criticism of the "True Socialism" of Karl Gruen and Moses Hess, and rather scornfully reproaches them for failing to recognize that an alteration in the methods of production compels changes in the whole social life. At about the same time he published in the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* a criticism of Karl Heinzen very similar to that directed against Gruen and Hess.

In 1846 Proudhon published his celebrated book, *La Philosophie de la Misère.* He and Marx had remained friends, though their relation had not been intimate since the departure

of the latter from Paris. Shortly before the appearance of the book, Proudhon wrote to Marx: " I await your critical rod " (*J'attends vôtre férule critique*). He had not long to wait. Marx had no sooner received a copy of the book and read it than he began to write, in French, a reply to it. This was published in Paris and Brussels in 1847, under the title, *La Misère de la Philosophie,* and forever shattered the friendship of the two men. One cannot wonder at this result. Not all men can stand severe criticism and retain their friendship for the critic as Bruno Bauer did, and men of much broader minds than Proudhon have been angered by criticisms far less severe than that with which he was assailed by Marx.

The book is a masterpiece of polemical writing. Economic criticism does not generally make very fascinating or exhilarating reading, but Marx's book has both merits. The language is singularly simple and beautiful, the scorn is scathing, the satire keen, and the logic impenetrable. Marx smites Proudhon hip and thigh and makes his work appear as trivial as a schoolboy's essay. For readers of a later generation the brilliance of the book has rather tended to obscure its real merit and importance. For us to-day the importance of the work lies less in its controversial character, the refutation of Proudhon's theories, than in the fact that it contains the first fruits of the immense amount of reading done during that visit to England in the summer of 1845, and a full and generous recognition of that brilliant school of English Ricardian Socialists, from whom he has been charged with " pillaging " his ideas.

It has also another and greater merit. In it we get the first approach to a comprehensive exposition of the materialistic conception of history. Here we find elaborated the theory that history must be interpreted in the light of economic development. Marx shows that mankind changes all its social relations in changing the methods of production. " The hand mill creates a society with the feudal lord; the steam mill a society with the industrial capitalist. The same men who es-

tablish social relations in conformity with their material production also create principles, ideas, and categories in conformity with their social relations. . . . All such ideas and categories are therefore historical and transitory products."

He pokes fun at Proudhon's concept of " eternal laws " and argues that the relations in which the forces of production manifest themselves are not eternal laws, but that they correspond to definite changes in man and in his productive forces. He contends, with much lucid argument, that social life at any given time is the result of economic evolution. The theory is fundamental to the whole work, and not the subject of mere incidental allusions. That the critique utterly discredits Proudhon's rather bombastic and pretentious book is undeniable, but the reader of to-day gets from it the impression that the attack is often quite as much directed toward the manner of Proudhon's statement as to the substance, and that Marx really used the work of his old friend as a foil for the statement of his own views.

The *Misère de la Philosophie* created a sensation in radical circles, as might have been expected, and added considerably to the fame of the author, which was already far from small. Meantime Marx was busy at Brussels with his work in connection with the German Workingmen's Club. The world of German and French radicalism was seething with discontent. The old movements, Saint-Simonianism and Fourierism, had burned out, and only the crude Communism of Étienne Cabet and Wilhelm Weitling kept the hopes of the workers alive. And the work of Marx and Engels had turned many of the best-educated workers against the Utopian visions of the former and the equally Utopian insurrections and conspiracies of the latter.

The Communist " movement " of the time was made up of three elements, the followers of Cabet, the adherents of Weitling, and that element which, dissatisfied with both Cabet and Weitling, lacked both leadership and cohesion. The Com-

munist League, which was the organized expression of the movement, was an international secret society with its headquarters in London. The "Young Europe" agitation which Mazzini carried on in 1834 had numerous offshoots, among others a "Young Germany" society which was organized in Paris in 1836 by German refugees and travelling workingmen. This society was at the beginning a mere conspiratory society, devoted almost wholly to the "Young Germany" propaganda with, of course, the usual convivial purposes of such clubs. At different times it bore the names, "League of the Just," "League of the Righteous," and finally, "Communist League." Later it became the International Alliance, with branches in many of the leading cities of Europe, composed mainly of German and French workingmen and radical Intellectuals. The headquarters of the movement, in 1847, were in London, where an Arbeiter Bildungsverein — Workingmen's Educational Club — had existed for seven years.

The London Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein was founded in February, 1840, by three German exiles. They were: Karl Schapper, a proofreader who later became a teacher of languages; Heinrich Bauer, a shoemaker, and Joseph Moll, a watchmaker. These three men had already been actively engaged in the revolutionary movement, and had been expelled from France at the end of 1830 for participation in the Blanquist conspiracy. The organization prospered and, because of its rather unusual prosperity and stability, and the fact that there was much greater freedom in London than on the Continent, it became, naturally, the central organization.

The conflict within the movement was responsible for the attempt to reorganize it which led to the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* and the domination of the whole movement by Marx and Engels. In the spring of 1847 Joseph Moll visited Marx in Brussels, and Engels in Paris, whither he had gone on business, and begged them to take up the task of

bringing about a reorganization of the movement along the lines which they had been advocating.

During his stay in Paris in 1843–1844, Marx had discussed with the leading spirits of the movement there the desirability of such a reorganization, and ever since that time he and Engels had been urging it by newspaper articles, speeches, and correspondence. Marx had therefore made his position perfectly plain: he wanted a strong proletarian political movement with a definite revolutionary aim and policy, which involved the abandonment of attempts to create a Utopian paradise beyond the seas, on the one hand, and of secret conspiracies and violent insurrections upon the other. Thus, the suggestion of Moll was not unwelcome. It was, in fact, exactly what Marx and Engels had been wishing.

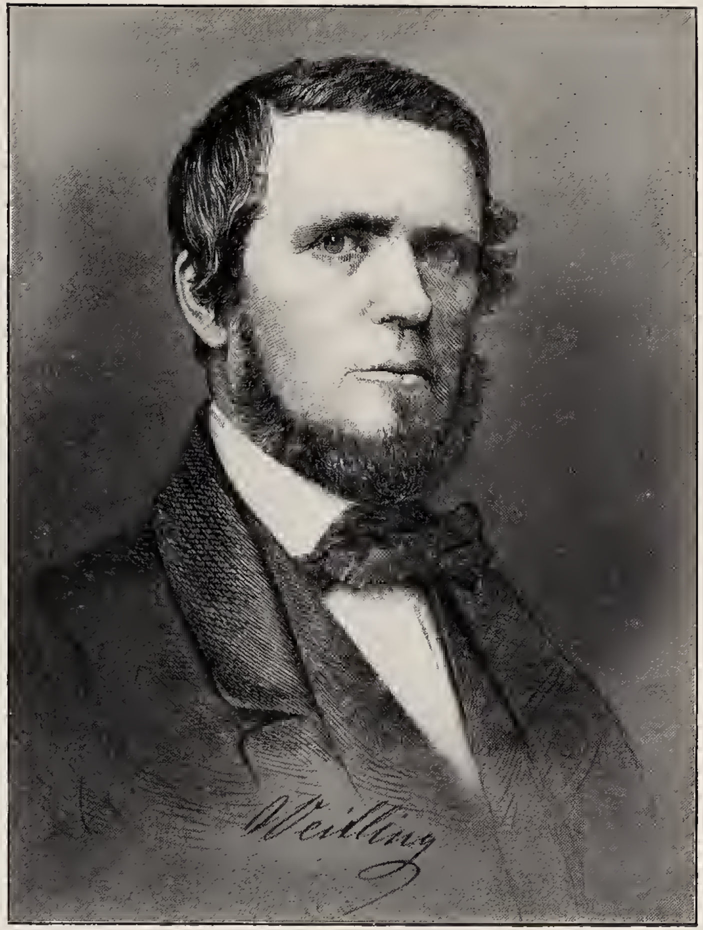
Such an undertaking however was not lightly to be regarded. Quite naturally, Marx wanted the assurance of enough influential support to afford reasonable hope of success. How many of the leaders would accept his programme? Would it be possible to unite the forces upon such a programme as he and Engels had advocated? Thanks to the energies of Moll, and the efforts of Engels while in Paris, sufficient assurance was given to warrant the attempt. It was arranged that the German Workingmen's Club of Brussels should enter the International Alliance, and that a congress should be held in London at an early date for the purpose of reorganizing the movement.

The congress was held in the summer of 1847 at the rooms of the Arbeiter Bildungsverein, in Great Windmill Street. Marx was not present, preferring to remain in Brussels until officially invited to act. Engels attended the congress, however, as a delegate representing the members in Paris. With him was Wilhelm Wolff, the Silesian peasant, nicknamed "Lupus," to distinguish him at a time when there were several men of the same name active in the movement. A man of

large gifts and remarkable energy, this "Lupus" Wolff was one of Marx's best beloved friends, as may be seen from the affectionate dedication of the first volume of *Capital* to his memory. Both men were delegates representing large organizations, but in a very special sense they represented Karl Marx. With great ability and earnestness they argued for what was already known as the Marxist programme.

The main opposition came from the followers of Weitling, a few zealots who mistook high-sounding phrases for realities, and were unable to dissociate revolutionary activity from plotting, intrigue, conspiracy, and insurrection. Marx had incurred the mortal enmity of this element by the vigour of his onslaughts upon their methods. To him, they were mere "phrase-mongers" and "mouthers of revolutionary nothings." To them, on the other hand, Marx was "a mere theorist," a "closet philosopher," a "reactionary politician," simply because he was opposed to their conception of immediate practical measures. The issue was, in brief, between the old notion of revolutionary action which had been so long tried, and the new notion which called for patient and long-continued preparation, and which recognised that no social change could be effected unless the economic conditions for the change were developed.

It is worthy of note that the opposition to Marx and Engels brought forth a specious form of demagoguery which has played a sinister rôle in the Socialist movement and which still crops out at frequent intervals. The opponents of Marx and Engels sought to prejudice the proletarian element against their programme by raising the cry that they were not of the proletariat, but "Intellectuals," members of the hated bourgeoisie. No official record of the discussions has ever been published, but from one of the members of the Arbeiter Bildungsverein, who, though not a delegate, was in a position to know what took place, and who was for many years the trusted and loyal friend of both Marx and Engels, the present writer learned that the



Wilhelm Weitling



Wilhelm Wolff

cry of anti-intellectualism was loudly raised. Had the demagogues who raised this cry succeeded, the *Communist Manifesto,* the great declaration of proletarian independence, would never have been written. It is significant that the men who struggled so nobly to rouse the proletarian consciousness, whose genius gave birth to the battle-cry of the workers, " Working men of all countries, Unite! " were thus early, and for many years afterward, opposed by this petty demagogic spirit, by men who used isolated and ill-digested phrases from the *Manifesto* as weapons with which to attack its authors.

In spite of the opposition, Engels and Wolff succeeded in their efforts. It was agreed that the International Alliance should be reorganized along " Marxist " lines. The old mystery was dropped as one throws off an old garment; in place of a secret association for conspiratory action, it became henceforth a society for open propaganda and the education of the workers. At the same time, the name of the organization was changed to " Communist League."

For readers of this generation it is perhaps necessary to explain why this name was chosen, why it was not decided to call the organization the *Socialist* League. At that time the relative meaning of the terms " Communism " and " Socialism " was almost exactly the reverse of what it is to-day. We think of such Utopian schemes as those of Fourierism and Owenism as examples of " Communism," but in those days they bore the name of " Socialism." On the other hand, the working class movement, crude as it was, divided into factions headed by Cabet, by Weitling, and by Marx was known as " Communism." Socialism, then, meant Saint Simonianism, Fourierism, and Owenism, mere sects which had become discredited by all sorts of follies and extravagancies. They could not adopt the word Socialism without incurring much needless opposition and misunderstanding.

So far Engels and Wolff succeeded in their task. The congress was not yet prepared, however, to go the whole length

of accepting the theoretical and practical programme of Marxism. Indeed, it would perhaps be better to say that such a programme had not yet been definitely formulated. Marx, as we have seen, had from time to time expressed his views in letters, articles, books, lectures, and personal discussions and for that very reason his " programme " had been given out piecemeal and never precisely published. It had probably not taken definite, cohesive form even in his own thought. Engels and Wolff, especially the former, knew in a general way what Marx wanted and informed the congress. Their presentation of his position favourably impressing a majority of the delegates, the congress decided to adjourn and to write Marx and Engels to attend another congress, to be held at an early date, for the purpose of outlining their idea of " a complete theoretical and working programme " for the League. With that Engels and Wolff were content.

And now, as soon as this first congress was over, a new phase of the struggle began. Even while the congress was in session, Cabet, in Paris, was making a desperate fight to secure the support of the movement for his cherished scheme of establishing an Earthly Paradise in Texas. Cabet was born at Dijon, France, in 1788, and received a university education. In the Revolution of 1830 he had taken an active part and was " rewarded " upon the accession of Louis Philippe by being made Attorney-General of Corsica. The wily advisers of Louis Philippe were anxious to have Cabet removed from the political life of Paris, and that desire, quite as much as the desire to reward him for his services during the Revolution, led to what was practically banishment in the guise of a reward. But Cabet in Corsica became a thorn in the side of the government and was removed from office.

Returning to Paris, he became one of the most active opponents of the administration, and was elected, in 1834, as a deputy to the lower chamber by the citizens of Dijon, his native town. Here he continued to fight the government and

was soon tried on a charge of *lèse majesté,* and faced the necessity of choice between two years' imprisonment or five years' exile. Choosing the latter alternative, Cabet went to England, where he fell under the influence of Robert Owen and became a convert to his views. He wrote a book of no great literary merit, modelled closely upon More's *Utopia* and called *Voyage en Icarie,* published in 1839, in which he rhapsodically describes Icaria, his Utopia, as " a Promised Land, an Eden, an Elysium, a new terrestrial Paradise."

The effect of the book in France was astonishingly great. No other Utopian vision had ever so caught the popular fancy, or created such a furore, as this phantasy. All the conditions of the time were favourable to it. The Socialist movement represented by Saint-Simonianism and Fourierism had declined, and there was as yet no programme to unite those who were in a state of mental revolt against the existing social system. It had the merit of serving the useful purpose of firing the flagging zeal of large numbers of the workers for social regeneration. Pressed on by his admirers and friends to attempt the practical realization of his ideal, he consulted Robert Owen, who advised him to make Texas the theatre of his great experiment. At the time when the leaders of the working class were turning to Marx and to Engels, Cabet was making heroic efforts to realize the great hope of his life, and to unite the radical movement in support of his plans. He boasted, in 1847, that he had four hundred thousand adherents among the workers of France, but he found at last that not more than a few hundred could be induced to follow him to Texas.

In May, 1847, Cabet issued a proclamation to the workers of France, headed *Allons en Icarie!* He made a strong appeal to the Communists for support, saying: " As we are here persecuted, calumniated, and damned by the government, the priests, the middle classes, and even by the revolutionary republicans (for they try to backbite us in order to ruin us physically and morally), let us leave France, let us go to Icaria, to found there

a Communistic colony." Copies of this manifesto were sent to the Communists of various cities outside of France, and in September, 1847, about two months before the date set for the second congress at which Marx and Engels were to present their views, Cabet visited London, partly to take counsel with Owen, but more especially to win over the members of the Arbeiter Bildungsverein to his side. Most eloquently did he present his case and the members of the club gave it full consideration, the discussion lasting a whole week. Their final decision was against Cabet's proposal. Their reply, which Frederick Lessner has preserved, is interesting as showing how far they had come under the influence of Marxian ideas:

"Assuredly all Communists acknowledge with pleasure that Cabet has fought, and successfully fought, with admirable perseverance for the sake of suffering humanity, and that he has rendered immense services to the proletariat by his warning against all conspiracies. But all this cannot induce us to follow Cabet, when he, in our opinion, pursues a wrong path. Though we esteem citizen Cabet, we must fight his plan of emigration, being convinced that if the emigration proposed by him should take place the greatest damage would be done to the principles of Communism. The reasons for our opinion are:

"(1) We think that when in a country the most scandalous briberies are going on, when people are oppressed and exploited in the most outrageous manner, when right and justice are no longer respected, when society begins to dissolve itself into anarchy, as is now the case in France, every champion of justice and truth should make it his duty to remain at home to enlighten the people, to encourage the sinking, to boldly face the rogues, and lay the foundation of a new social organization. If the honest men, if the champions of a better future mean to get away and leave the field to the religious obscurantists and exploiters, Europe will assuredly be lost to the people.

"(2) Because we are convinced that the establishment in America of a colony by Cabet, based on the principle of com-

mon property, cannot yet be carried out for the following reasons:

"(a) Because although those comrades who intend to emigrate with Cabet may be eager Communists, yet they still possess too many of the faults and prejudices of present-day society by reason of their past education to be able to get rid of them at once by joining Icaria.

"(b) Because the differences and frictions which would naturally arise in the colony from the beginning would be still more excited and excerberated (*sic!*) by the agents and spies of the European governments and the middle classes, until they lead to a complete breakup of the colony.

"(c) Because emigrants belong mostly to the artisan class, whilst robust labourers are wanted for the clearing and cultivation of the soil, and because an artisan cannot very easily be transformed into a farmer.

"(d) Because privations and diseases, produced by the change of climate, will discourage and induce many to leave.

"(e) Because communism of property without a period of transition, in which personal property is transformed into collective property, is impossible for the Communists, who are determined to acknowledge the principle of individual freedom. Icarians, therefore, are like a farmer who wants to reap a harvest without first sowing.

"(3) Because no communism of property can be established and maintained at all by a few hundreds or thousands of persons without its acquiring a completely exclusive and sectarian character.

"These are the principal reasons why we consider as harmful the proposals of Cabet, and we may say to the Communists of all countries: 'Brethren, let us stay here in old Europe, let us act and fight in the trenches at home, for it is here that the elements for the establishment of Communism of property are at hand, and where it will first be established.'"

This reply of the London Communists to Cabet is not only

interesting as showing the strong influence of Marx and Engels; it is also a satisfactory reply to those belated and superficial critics who still think it a crushing criticism of Socialism to demand that the Socialists " put their ideas to a practical test " by establishing Socialist colonies. Cabet went back to Paris discouraged and found that the number of workers willing to emigrate to Texas was extremely — almost ludicrously — small. That the influence of Marxian ideas was already extensive, acting as a powerful check upon the illusions of Utopia-building, is apparent.

At the end of November the second congress was opened in London, at the headquarters on Great Windmill Street, and lasted for ten days, closing in the first days of December. Marx attended and expressed his views at great length, going with Engels from Brussels. He had prepared a carefully written statement of what he believed the theoretical basis and practical programme of the League should be, practically a draft of the famous *Manifesto*.[1] This statement was read by Marx with great passion of voice and gesture and made a profound impression, and was received with great enthusiasm. As upon the former occasion, none but properly accredited delegates were admitted to the proceedings, and there was great anxiety among the members of the club as to the result of the debates. The news quickly spread that the congress had with practical unanimity declared itself in favour of the principles of Marx and Engels and ordered them to prepare a manifesto, or declaration of principles, along the lines of the statement read by Marx. The news was received with general

[1] Engels and Marx drew up, independently of each other, separate plans of sketches for the *Manifesto*. When they came together for the purpose of comparing the two sketches Engels declared that Marx's sketch was incomparably the better of the two, and it was agreed that they should elaborate it together. Eduard Bernstein has a page of the manuscript of Marx's original sketch which contains several paragraphs relating to the subject of private property that are remarkably like those contained in the final version of the *Manifesto*.

satisfaction. Upon all sides it was more or less vaguely felt that the movement had entered upon a new era.

Liebknecht, in his inimitable manner, relates an interesting incident of that historic occasion when Marx read his proposed statement to the congress. Marx, who read with fine declamatory power, spoke the dialect of the Rhineland. Added to that he lisped slightly, so that he was easily misunderstood unless listened to with special care. In the reading he seems to have slurred the word "Arbeiter" (workman) so that at least one of the delegates understood him to say, "Achtblättler" (plant with eight leaves). The delegate, an old Cabetist, joined in the general enthusiasm, the applause and loud "Bravos" which the reading of the statement provoked. But at the close he went with troubled countenance to Karl Pfänder, the journeyman painter of Swabia: "That was magnificent! But one word I did not understand," he said, "'*Achtblättler*'— I have heard of clover, of plants with four leaves, but 'Achtblättler'?" Pfänder was puzzled and it was some time before the mystery was solved. There is a curious and interesting sidelight upon the ways from which the movement was now departing forever in Liebknecht's suggestion that the old Cabetist had scented behind the mysterious 'Achtblättler' a new magic formula. It was hard to throw off the idea of secret conspiracy meetings with passwords and cabalistic signs!

Marx and Engels returned at once to Brussels. They were now the acknowledged leaders of the movement. If Marx was by common consent chieftain, Engels was equally regarded as his lieutenant. For the congress had done more than instruct them to prepare the *Manifesto:* it was decided that the London Central Council should at once transfer its functions to the section at Brussels so that the organization might be more immediately directed by Marx and Engels. Marx was in his thirtieth year, while Engels was barely twenty-eight, both young men to have acquired such power.

By the end of January, 1848, the manuscript of the *Communist Manifesto,* written in German, was on its way to the printer in London. It was Frederick Lessner, the tailor, who took the manuscript to the printer and from him took the proofs to Karl Schapper for revision. The first copies were received from the press upon the same day that revolution broke out in Paris, February 24. Thus the greatest political pamphlet in history was born amid the stirrings of revolution. The birth-cry of modern Socialism, "Workingmen of all countries, Unite!" was scarcely heard by reason of the thunderings of revolution across the English Channel. The double event — the appearance of the long-awaited programme and the outbreak in Paris — made an indescribable impression on the German Communists in London. Surely, the hour had struck! What thought could they have other than that they were called to the high privilege of martyrdom, to lay down life and fortune for the deliverance of mankind?

Leaving for another chapter all discussion and analysis of the *Communist Manifesto,* some notice must be taken of some further activities of the busy period 1847–1848. Mention has been made of his *Discourse upon Free Trade,* and a further word seems to be necessary. Toward the end of 1847, after the return of Marx from London, a Free Trade Congress was held at Brussels. The congress was a move in the campaign of the English manufacturing class. Having secured the repeal of the Corn Laws, in 1846, they now invaded Continental Europe to agitate for the free admission of English goods to the Continental markets in return for the free admission of Continental corn into the English markets. Marx, who believed in the principle of free trade, got his name placed on the list of speakers and prepared an address for the occasion which was not, however, delivered. Whether by accident or design it is perhaps needless to inquire at this day: suffice it to say that the congress was prematurely adjourned and Marx got no opportunity to address it. So, on the 9th of January,

1848, the address intended for the Free Trade Congress was delivered before the Democratic Association of Brussels, of which Marx was vice-president. His position and argument have been condensed by Engels as follows:

"While recognizing that protection may still, under certain circumstances, for instance, in the Germany of 1847, be of advantage to the manufacturing capitalists; while proving that free trade was not the panacea for all the evils under which the working classes suffered, and might even aggravate them; he pronounces, ultimately, and on principle, in favour of free trade. To him, free trade is the normal condition of modern capitalist production. Only under free trade can the immense productive powers of steam, of electricity, of machinery, be fully developed; and the quicker the pace of this development, the sooner and more fully will be realized its inevitable results; society splits up into two classes, capitalists here, wage labourers there; hereditary wealth on one side, hereditary poverty on the other; supply outstripping demand, the markets being unable to absorb the ever-growing mass of the productions of industry; an ever-recurring cycle of prosperity, glut, crisis, panic, chronic depression and gradual revival of trade, the harbinger, not of permanent improvement but of renewed over-production and crisis; in short, productive forces expanding to such a degree that they rebel, as against unbearable fetters, against the social institutions under which they are put in motion; the only possible solution: a social revolution, freeing the social productive forces from the fetters of an antiquated social order, and the actual producers, the great mass of the people, from wage-slavery. And because free trade is the natural, the normal atmosphere for this historical evolution, the economic medium in which the conditions for the inevitable social revolution will be the soonest created — for this reason, and *for this alone,* did Marx declare in favour of free trade." [1]

Even more popular as a propagandist pamphlet to-day is his

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[1] Introduction to *Free Trade.*

Wage-Labor and Capital, a pamphlet which is widely circulated in many languages. Although composed of a series of articles which appeared in 1849, in the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung,* it really belongs to this period, for the articles were simply the substance of a series of lectures delivered before the German Workingmen's Club of Brussels in 1847. It is mainly interesting as a sketch of *Capital,* as the germ of what was to appear twenty years later. Taken altogether, the work of the year 1847 makes a tremendous total, bearing eloquent witness to Marx's boundless energy and devotion.

Throughout the whole period, ever since his residence in Brussels, in fact, the Prussian government had maintained its hatred and fear of Marx. With each fresh manifestation of his growing popularity and influence among the German Communists the hate and fear were naturally intensified. Time and again attempts had been made to bring about his expulsion at the hands of the Belgian government, but without success until the end of February, 1848. Probably because the removal of the headquarters of the Communist League to Brussels and the acceptance of the leadership of Marx had frightened the Belgian government, at last Marx was arrested and ordered to leave Belgian soil at once. The " long Prussian arm " had reached him once more.

But the " Marx luck," proverbial from his boyhood, did not desert him. Belgium was closing her doors against him, but France had already opened her doors and offered hearty welcome. Only a day or two previously on the 25th of February the " Provisional Government " through one of its members, his old friend Flocon, of the *Réforme,* had begged the " brave and loyal Marx " to return to the country whence tyranny had banished him, and where he, like all fighting in the sacred cause, the cause of the fraternity of all people," would receive hearty welcome. So Marx hastened to Paris: the rebel who had been expelled in 1845 returned in 1848 as a welcome and honoured guest.



Ferdinand Flocon

VI

THE "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

At this point we may with logic and good reason suspend our narrative, and, leaving Marx in Paris with his friends, all aglow with the excitation of their triumph, return to the *Communist Manifesto,* the first printed copies of which Marx probably received upon his arrival in Paris. To know the man it is not sufficient merely to follow his movements, we must know his thought. And the *Manifesto* gives us such a picture of the thought of Marx at this period as cannot otherwise be obtained.

The public life of Marx may be said to divide itself into three great epochs. The first culminated in the *Communist Manifesto,* with its mingled threat to the bourgeoisie and its inspiration to the proletarians. The second epoch culminated in the organization of the International Workingmen's Association, in 1864, the melting of the dividing lines of race and language in the fires of class solidarity. The third epoch culminated in the heroic breaking up of that great organization to save it from the dominion of his arch enemy, the Russian rebel, Michael Bakunin — or was it, perhaps, in his peaceful death in 1883?

The great document, which is to modern Socialism what the Declaration of Independence is to America, opens with a brief prologue, terse, tense and defiant. It sets forth that "A spectre is haunting Europe"— the terrible red spectre of Communism, to exorcize which all the Powers of old Europe have entered into an alliance. As we read it is easy to imagine the satirical grin with which this alliance of Pope and Czar,

French radicals like Guizot and German police spies like Metternich, was described as " holy " by the writer. It is easy to realize the glee with which he — for this prologue is the work of Marx alone: no other hand has touched it! — sets forth that all parties, in opposition, whether radical or reactionary, are charged by those in power with being " Communistic." The sure and unerring instinct of the writer grasps the truth that in this fact is a tremendous confession of fear engendered by the great undisciplined strength of the Communists.

Thus it becomes evident that all the Powers of Europe — the Powers of courts and thrones — acknowledge Communism itself to be a Power — a Power of the workshops and the streets to be feared. So it becomes necessary that this Red Power should throw off its disguise, come out from the secret places of its hiding into the light of day, and publish its aims. In the open daylight the " nursery tale " of the Red Spectre must be met with a manifesto of the party itself. So, the Communists of many nations have decided to publish their views and their aims in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages. The Red Power has found its voice!

The manifesto proper begins with the declaration of its fundamental principle: all written history, since the dissolution of primitive tribal communism based upon the common ownership of land, is the history of class struggles. Exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, have struggled, and the story of their struggles is the story of society, of civilization:

" Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

" In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere

a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

The idea that the revolution in the methods of production which gave birth to the capitalist era, revolutionized also the whole character of society, replacing feudal conditions and institutions with others better adapted to the needs of the new era, has become commonplace. But when it was proclaimed so brilliantly sixty years ago, it was strikingly original and revolutionary. And it is strong proof of its literary art that the body of the *Communist Manifesto* is still fresh and striking, the vivid, dramatic phrases carry the reader along with irresistible power. With crisp, ringing phrases, simple, and free from superfluity, like cameos cut by a master-hand, the *Manifesto* made the philosophy of history comprehensible to the proletariat. Judged simply as a literary achievement, the little German pamphlet of twenty-five octavo pages, which came, in February, 1848, from an obscure London printery, is a work of rare genius. Had its authors done nothing else, their fame would be secure.

This doctrine of historical development through class antagonisms and struggles resulting from economic conditions is the vital principle of the *Communist Manifesto.* All else is incidental and relatively unimportant — satirical *tu quoque* arguments in reply to vulgar criticisms, ridicule and contempt

for the older schools of sentimentalists and conspirators, suggestions for an immediate programme for the party. By a perversity that is exasperating to the honest student, most of the modern critics of Socialism fasten upon these relatively trivial and unimportant " things of the moment " and base upon them their attacks upon the movement of to-day, sixty years later! When they do give attention to the great vital principle of the work, these critics see in it only an appeal to passion and hatred and accuse the Socialists of attempting to create strife, to set class against class.

Whoever makes this criticism libels Marx and proclaims his unfitness to assume the rôle of critic. To criticize wisely one must first understand, and no one who understands the theory of the class struggle can honestly bring against it the criticism we are discussing. Prior to Marx, all movements for social regeneration were essentially ideological. They made the issue a moral one. Existing social institutions were " wicked," the fruits of sin. To work for change was " holy " and " righteous "; to resist was " Mammonish " and " sinful." But for the wickedness of the oppressor life would be a paradise. The propaganda was one of virtue against vice. Even Weitling, whose appeals were to the workers, was a religious enthusiast, like Piers the Ploughman, denouncing property as sinful, and basing his teaching upon the teachings of Jesus as he understood them.

What the result of all that ideological agitation was, we know. When ethical appeal and argument proved unavailing, resort to violence was inevitable. Conspiracies, riotings, and insurrections were the logical outcome of the old ideological conception of the nature of the problem. Agitation might bring together masses of discontented workers, but they were powerless to accomplish anything so long as they regarded the problem in the light of a contest between justice and injustice, good and evil. Weitling could only plan conspiracies and raids, and when these assumed large dimensions his own fol-

lowers were terrified into silence. Thinking that nothing stood in the way of universal community of goods except the wicked greed of the masters, he proposed to raise an army of twenty thousand revolutionaries, to go with torch and sword into all the great cities of Europe, terrifying the bourgeoisie into a recognition of eternal justice, a proposal which alarmed his followers. No wonder that Marx spoke of the Communist movement of the early forties as "a giant — but a giant in the cradle."

The great merit of the *Manifesto* lies in the fact that it gave the death-blow to that dangerous ideological conception of the social problem. Instead of being a wicked invention, to be destroyed by triumphant virtue, the capitalist system is shown to be a logical and necessary stage in social evolution, its institutions the resultants of economic conditions. The great social achievements of the bourgeoisie are recognized in a manner remarkably free from passion. No apologist of capitalism has ever portrayed its historic rôle with greater fairness, or with deeper insight than the authors of the *Manifesto:*

"The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can

ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

" The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

" The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of the Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

" The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

" The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and

has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian, countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

"The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, become lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs tariff.

"The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground — what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?"

It is a superb picture of the great part played by the capitalist system and its ruling class in the drama of human progress which the *Manifesto* gives. No enthusiastic apologist of capitalism, it is safe to say, ever perceived more clearly, or described with more convincing eloquence, the enormous benefits, material and spiritual, with which capitalist production won its way. What a change of attitude for the revolutionary masses the acceptance of the *Manifesto* involved can hardly now be comprehended. From regarding it as an unalloyed curse, the creation of evil genius, bearing the cursed brand because it denied Eternal Justice, the genius of Marx and his coworker compelled the revolutionary proletariat to regard the capitalist system as a great and splendid epoch, marked by the greatest extension of man's kingdom in the universe; to see in its prog-

ress an immense stride toward the goal of human brotherhood, and in its evils only the necessary price of progress and the inevitable accumulation of failures incidental to its successes, the legacy which it must bequeath to a new epoch — just as it inherited from feudal society its failures together with its successes.

The presentation of the contribution of capitalism to world-progress is followed by a brief summary of the process of its development out of the economic conditions and institutions generated in feudal society, and a description of the process of its decline, the signs of its approaching dissolution. Just as the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, when it proved inadequate to contain the productive forces already developed, became a fetter upon life which had to be broken, to make way for free competition and the economical and social sway of a new ruling class, together with the social and political forms necessary to the new order, so capitalism arrives at the stage where its organization of industry proves more and more inadequate and fetters life. The bourgeoisie, having fulfilled its historic rôle — a rôle resplendent with great achievement — must give way to a new class developed under its own rule:

"Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that,

in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

The first part of the *Manifesto* closes with a description of the development of the modern proletarian class. With a more rigid adherence to the "iron law of wages" than would have been possible had it been written, say, twenty years later, when Marx's economic thought had matured, it depicts the increasing dependence and exploitation of the workers and their inevitable revolt. Not only has the capitalist system produced the conditions which necessitate its overthrow, but it has also produced the agency, the interest, the social class, by which this is to be accomplished. The bourgeoisie has done more than forge the weapons that are to bring death to itself; it has called into existence the power by which the weapons must be wielded, the modern proletariat, or wage-working class.

Capitalism depends upon wage-labour, and wage-labour, in turn depends upon competition among the labourers. The law

of wages needs competition for its operation. But competition belongs to production on a small scale, to the comparative isolation of the workers which such small-scale, competitive industry involves. The development of large production, massing great bodies of workers together, inevitably tends to produce a sense of solidarity of interest, of mutual interdependence, among the labourers, leading, sooner or later, to their combination into unions for defence against oppression, and aggressive struggle for improved conditions. Now and then, especially in the absence of similar combinations of employers, the workers gain victories, more or less important and substantial. But, upon the whole, and in the long run, these victories are of less importance than the fact of their union. "The real fruit of their victory lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers." And the necessary conditions for such union are provided by the development of capitalist production by massing the workers together, by bringing the workers of various localities together, and so centralizing the numerous local struggles of small groups into a national class struggle.

Not only so, but the system also turns the organization of the workers into a political force, a party. This development of political class solidarity is of necessity slower than the economic solidarity represented by the unions. Numerous setbacks are encountered, but the political movement "rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier." It takes advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie to further its own interests. With the recent experience of the English workers in the agitation for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and the earlier agitation for Franchise Reform, in their minds, the authors of the *Manifesto* point out that the bourgeoisie in its struggle to secure its own interests must appeal to the proletariat, and thus draw it into the political arena, supplying it thereby with political education and training, the weapons which the proletariat,

sooner or later, uses to fight the bourgeoisie itself. Thus, the bourgoisie produces, above all, its own grave diggers.

The historic rôle of the bourgeoisie, then, cannot be lightly regarded. In its way, and in its place in the great drama, it is quite as important as that of the proletariat itself. To break down national and racial barriers, thus liberating great spiritual forces essential to the building of a free and gladsome world; to open new continents, find new sources of wealth, unite the workers and provide them with the political knowledge and experience, as well as the technical knowledge, without which they must remain as " a giant in a cradle," is no mean or trivial rôle. The rôle of the proletariat is different, of course; it carries on the movement of the drama to its grand climax — but Hamlet is no more essential to the play than Ophelia!

The historic rôle of the proletariat is to succeed the bourgeoisie, which it must first of all vanquish in the inevitable struggle —

> " *Le combat ou la mort; la lutte sanguinaire ou le néant.*
> " *C'est ainsi que la question est invinciblement posée.*"

No need exists for making a secret of this fact. The inexorable spirit of History, the Zeitgeist, proclaims it aloud. Therefore, " the Communists disdain to conceal their aims and views." That they have done so in the past is true, but that was before the laws of social development were known to them. Now, away with secret, conspiratory methods! Away with cabalistic mysteries and rites! The Communists openly declare that they aim to bring about a social revolution. But by " revolution " is meant a result, not the method of its attainment; not a method of bringing about the transformation of society, but the result, regardless of the methods by which it is attained. The transformation of the social forces of production from capitalist property to social property is the revolution. This — the result — is not more or less revolutionary

whether attained by peaceful political action or by torch and sword and barricades.

Heretofore, social revolution had meant only a method of protest and revolt: Street rioting, insurrections, intrigues, conspiracies, *coups d'état,* resulting in nothing more substantial than wresting concessions from frightened ruling classes, overturning dynasties, or ousting governments. In this narrow sense the French have been called " the most revolutionary people in Europe." But such " revolutions " are not " social " in the sense in which Marx uses the term. After a successful *coup de force* people proceed to live as before. The class struggle persists, the wage-worker continues to be exploited. What Marx insists upon is the need of a transformation of social relations, the abolition of class divisions resting upon the exploitation of the proletariat.

This revolution must be accomplished by the proletariat. That is its rôle, imposed upon it by the very nature of its own being. In the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher,* in 1843, Marx had written that " The Reformation was the work of a Monk; the Revolution will be the work of a Philosopher." So far had his thought progressed in less than five years! The *Manifesto* makes it plain that the revolution must be the work of a class, a class driven on by the urge of its interest, the irresistible urge of self-preservation. And " the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

That we are not mistaken in our interpretation of the meaning of " social revolution " as Marx uses the term is shown by the *Manifesto* itself. After setting forth " the first step," the conquest of the political powers, it proceeds: " The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by *degrees,* all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." Mark well the words

"by degrees." Two years later, Marx gave, in a single phrase, a clear exposition of his thought, when he scornfully rebuked those who would "substitute revolutionary phrases for revolutionary evolution."

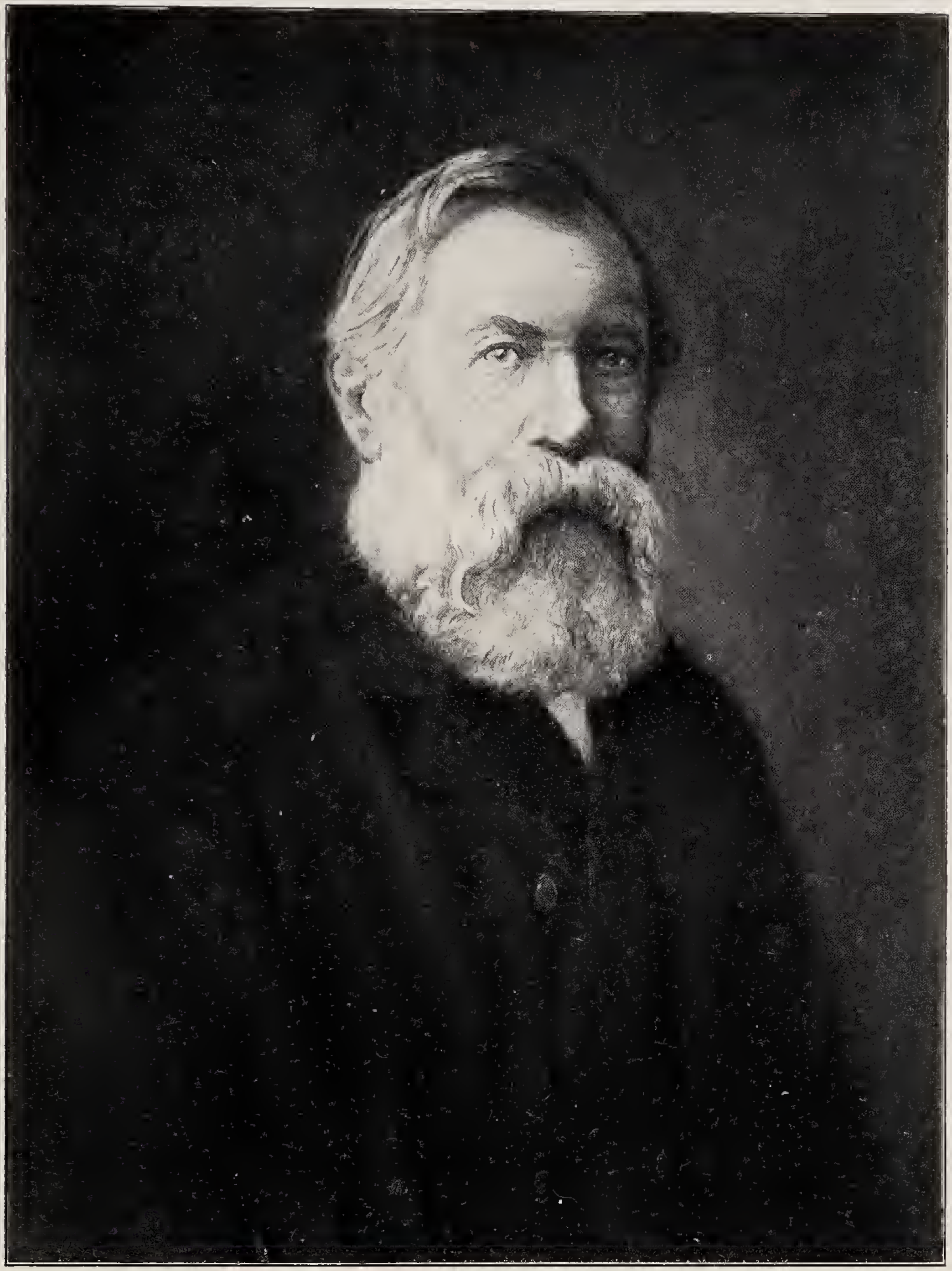
Marx knew well that the revolutionary struggle must be carried on by the proletariat, that the revolution must be the work of the wage-earning class. But he also knew that no social movement could ever be confined absolutely to a single class. Just as class divisions are not always absolute and definite, one class merging into another class, so in every class struggle there must be some merging, some individuals of the class in power allying themselves with the aggressive, struggling class, against the class to which they themselves naturally belong. He knew well that when the bourgeoisie struggled to overthrow feudal aristocracy some members of the aristocratic class, gifted with a sense of the historical movement, went over to the bourgeoisie. He knew, also, that the trades unions had been aided, especially in England, by members of the class to oppose which the unions were formed. It was this knowledge which defeated the demagogic opposition to Marx and Engels as "Intellectuals" before the *Manifesto* was written.

It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the authors of the *Manifesto,* while insisting that the working class must bring about its own emancipation, should guard against a too narrow interpretation of that principle. They pointed out that, in the first place, the life-process of capitalist production, the concentration of industry and capital into few and fewer hands, threatens the existence of many members of the capitalist class, by crushing them in the relentless competitive struggle. The lower middle-class, composed of small storekeepers and petty manufacturers, are naturally reactionary rather than revolutionary. They "try to roll back the wheel of history," or, in other words, to hinder and prevent the logical development of industry, to preserve competition and resist concentration. They naturally appeal to the proletariat to assist them, and

sometimes succeed in the attempt for a brief period. The history of the Liberal Party in England, and of the Democratic Party in America, illustrates this phenomenon with admirable force and clarity.

But some members of this class, the *petite bourgeoisie,* realise the inevitability of the historical process, and of their own impending reduction to the proletarian class. These may very logically, and often do, rally to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, defending, not the forlorn hope of their present position, but their future interest. The contribution of this element to the working-class movement is not a small matter, for it brings to the movement "fresh elements of enlightenment and progress." Then, secondly, when the class struggle has become the most marked phenomenon of the time, when the process of the dissolution of existing society becomes glaringly evident, some members of the ruling class will cut themselves adrift and join the proletarian struggle. "Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole."

Here we have a clear and unanswerable reply to the cheap critics who profess to find a contradiction in the proletarian basis of the Socialist movement and the fact that others than proletarians — men like Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Liebknecht, Hyndman, Kautsky, Ferri and others — have played such an important part in its history. The reply has its meaning, also, for those elements within the Socialist movement whose conception of the class struggle is so crude that they would confine the movement to actual proletarians and so exclude such men as those mentioned, who by their labours and their devotion have made it possible for the proletariat to carry on its intellectual struggle with such brilliant success.



Friedrich Engels

Before we pass from the philosophy of the *Communist Manifesto* to a consideration of some of its minor features, one other point claims brief attention. Seizing upon isolated phrases, superficial critics of Socialism, whose words have, unfortunately, been echoed by many shallow-minded Socialists, have seized upon another "glaring contradiction" between the theory of Socialism and its practice. Uniting to an admirable regard for the letter of Marx a far from admirable disregard of the spirit of his teaching, they have held that the followers of Marx, instead of seeking, as they do, to improve the conditions of the proletariat, should resist all such efforts at betterment; that the more the workers are oppressed the more likely are they to revolt, and the sooner they are reduced to abject misery the sooner will they rise and overthrow the existing social order.

According to this view, Socialism feeds upon the misery it seeks to abolish. The greater the poverty and degradation, the greater the resulting protest and revolt. But the facts are quite otherwise: The last man to heed the appeal of the Socialist is the wretched starveling in the "bread line." The hardest place for Socialism to make headway is in the slum, where the most abject misery and squalour exist. Marx knew that, for, wiser than many of his professed followers who vociferously shout his name, and claim to speak with his authority, he realised the hopelessness of dependence upon the "submerged tenth," the *débris* of the human struggle.

Marx knew that this element possesses none of the physical, mental or moral qualities requisite for successful, long-continued struggle, and, that there might be no mistake about it, no wasting of effort to make a revolutionary force out of the human waste, the *Manifesto* set forth that "the 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool

of reactionary intrigue." Keen politician that he was, Marx knew only too well the weakness of the " slum proletariat " and the danger of relying upon its turbulent, short-sighted passion. He knew that the revolutionary struggle demands better physique, and greater mental and moral strength than are to be found among the " social scum " of our city slums.

Certain passages in the *Communist Manifesto* have been seized by the enemies of Socialism and made the basis of much vulgar and maladroit criticism. Reference is made, of course, to those passages in the second part of the *Manifesto* in which the subjects of marriage and property are discussed. It is almost impossible to pick up a book or pamphlet against Socialism, belonging to the order of cheap, vulgar criticism, without finding certain passages from the *Manifesto* torn from their contexts, and cited to prove that Socialism aims at the abolition of private property and monogamic marriage, and that these aims are openly proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto.* One regrets to add that the literature issued by writers professing to speak for the Roman Catholic Church is distinguished above all else by this maladroit and disingenuous spirit and method. The candid student whose object is to know the truth need only turn to the pamphlet itself, to appeal from garbled texts in a setting of prejudice to the *Manifesto* itself, and as a whole, to fathom the dishonest conspiracy of misrepresentation which has been waged so assiduously. Invariably, the passages cited are torn from arguments designed to convey a meaning opposite to that which the vulgarian purveyors of misrepresentation seek to prove by mutilated texts.

That we may understand these passages, it is necessary to understand their history, the circumstances under which they were written. The Communists had long been charged with the same evil intentions as those attributed to the Socialists of to-day. It was an old charge then, in 1848. As far back as 1830, it had been charged against the Saint-Simonians, by a speaker in the Chamber of Deputies, that they were in favour

of community of goods and community of wives. That the charge was stupidly and cruelly untrue, except possibly as applied to a few camp-followers of the movement, every student of the Saint-Simonian theories knows. The leaders of the movement made reply to these charges in a brochure dated the first of October, 1830, in which their real views and aims were set forth.

This little brochure, probably written by Bazard, who was in many ways to the Saint-Simonian movement of the period what Marx was to the later movement, seems to have been known to the authors of the *Communist Manifesto,* and to have suggested the manner of replying to the charges named. At all events, there is a similarity of method and argument striking enough to justify the belief that, either consciously or unconsciously, Marx and Engels drew from the Saint-Simonian pamphlet in formulating their replies to the charge which, like the Saint-Simonians, they felt called upon to notice and answer. Curiously enough, so far as known to the present writer, this relation of the *Manifesto* to an earlier document has not before been touched upon by any of the great multitude of writers who have made the literature of Socialism their theme.

With regard to the vexed question of the abolition of property, the *Manifesto* first points out that the abolition of existing property relations is not peculiar to the Communist movement, that "all property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions." Thus, it is pointed out, the French Revolution abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois, or capitalistic, property. The argument proceeds:

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

" In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

" We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

" Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that. The development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it.

" Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

" But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of getting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

" To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

" Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

" When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class-character.

" Let us now take wage-labour.

" The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i. e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and

that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it."

It is very evident from the foregoing that property in things which are in their nature personal, serving personal functions and uses, is not the form of property assailed. That appropriation of the products of labour which is necessary "for the maintenance and reproduction of human life" is not attacked, except as to its insufficiency. Nothing could be clearer than the statement: "All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital." The transformation of capitalist property into social property, then, does not involve the abolition of personal property, but, on the contrary, its wide extension:

"You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

"Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society: all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation."

Most cruel and despicable of all the perversions of his teaching from which Marx has suffered at the hands of his defamers, is that which founds the charge of seeking to destroy monogamic marriage, and the family based thereon, upon passages from the *Manifesto,* garbled and torn from a context devoted, in fact, to an eloquent plea for the family. The singular beauty and purity of Marx's own family life, his almost

sublime devotion to his wife, make this particular misrepresentation all the more reprehensible. It is probably a conservative statement that thousands of articles, pamphlets and books have quoted as a statement of the views of Marx this phrase: "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital." Standing by itself, isolated from the context of the argument in which it appears, this phrase wholly misrepresents Marx and his followers.

Replying to the charge that the Communists aim at the abolition of the family, the *Manifesto* opens with a scathing *tu quoque* retort. The bourgeoisie have made marriage a sort of trade and based the family upon gain. It is this sort of family life that will disappear when capitalism disappears. Among the proletarians there is practically an absence of family life: "The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed corelation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor." To the charge of "wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents," the Communists plead guilty.

Then, too, there is prostitution, a form of community of women which has existed almost from time immemorial. Upon this head the *Manifesto* proceeds to an indictment of the bourgeoisie. Not only is marriage for fortune, for title and social position a form of prostitution, even more hideous than that which flaunts itself upon the pavements of our cities, but bourgeois society reeks with immorality, as evidenced by the chronicle of its life in the press: "Our bourgeoisie, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives."

The tables are turned! The system of holding wives in

common, which the workers are accused of seeking to introduce, is already here — a product of capitalist society, to be swept away with other capitalist evils by a proletarian revolution. "At the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women." For there can be no doubt as to the existence of this community of women to-day: the commercialization of marriage, public prostitution and the reeking immorality of bourgeois society mean nothing less.

But, so far from seeking to legalize this system of "free love," of community of women, the Communists in reality aim to destroy it. Only under Communism, or, to use the modern term, Socialism, will family life be made real and secure against these evils. "It is self-evident," the *Manifesto* argues, "that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i. e., of prostitution, both public and private." How deliberate and malicious the misrepresentation of Marx's views upon this point often becomes may be seen by comparing the passage quoted with the falsified form in which it is given by the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Roman Catholic Bishop of Trenton, N. J., in a Pastoral Letter, entitled *Some Modern Problems,* published in 1908. He mutilates and interpolates and gives the passage as follows: "It is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women — present marriage — springing from that system of prostitution, both public and private." By interpolating the words "present marriage" and omitting the explanatory "i. e.," the passage is made to convey a meaning exactly opposite to that intended by Marx. No attack upon the Catholic Church by Socialists could so dishonour her as such conduct on the part of her dignitaries!

There are also some resemblances to another "Manifesto"

worthy of note, the more so since they have been seized upon and made the basis of a charge of plagiarism. It is an old story, too familiar to warrant much attention. In the year 1843, Victor Considerant, the brilliant associate of Fourier, and friend of Saint-Simon and Louis Blanc, published in Paris a small book, entitled, *Principes du Socialisme: Manifeste de la démocratie au dix-neuvième siècle.* There are some passages in this "Manifesto of the Democracy of the Nineteenth Century" which bear some resemblance to, and may even have suggested, certain passages in the work of Marx and Engels. The *Communist Manifesto* was written for the express purpose of providing a theoretical and practical basis of union for all the Communistic factions of the time, and it was natural that its phraseology should appeal to various elements by reason of its familiarity. Indeed, the literary genius and the political wisdom of the writers were never more clearly shown than in that production.

To accuse Marx and Engels of plagiarizing the work of Considerant, as some irresponsible Anarchist writers have done from time to time, is absurd in the extreme. The similarities in the two manifestoes are simply the likenesses in details of minor importance which inevitably result when different persons choose the same theme and write of it with the same general sympathy. The passages that are most similar are merely the commonplaces of all literature of the kind, commonplaces far older than Considerant.

There is no need to consider here either the programme of immediate social and political reforms sketched in the *Manifesto,* or the criticism of the older schools of sentimental and Utopian Socialists. The last named has no importance to-day save as a historical study. The programme, which was probably more the work of Engels than of Marx, is likewise out of date. Parts of it have become obsolete; parts of it have been adopted by bourgeois parties and become commonplaces of social reform movements. The great importance of the

historic document for us lies in the philosophy of historical development so clearly outlined in it, by which the workers were shown the futility of mere conspiracies and blind revolts, and taught the historical significance of their struggle.

Its fine peroration called upon the workers of all lands to unite as a class in a great political movement for their own emancipation. But Marx would have been the first to repudiate the interpretation which some of his followers have given to the famous shibboleth. He knew well that the struggle of the proletariat must be, in form, if not in substance, a national struggle at first. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie. It is no answer to the demand of the workers for the restriction of immigration tending to lower the standards of living, for example, to invoke the great name of Marx and cry, "Workingmen of all countries, Unite!" Marx, at least, never contemplated that the workers of all lands should unite in any one country. He knew, too, that the conquest of the powers of the State by the proletariat would not perpetuate the rule of the proletariat, simply changing the *form* of the class division, but that it would destroy the foundations of class rule and, for the first time in history, make the existence of classes impossible.

VII

CROWING OF THE GALLICAN COCK

In 1843, in his article upon Hegel's Philosophy of Law, published in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher,* Marx had declared that the only hope for a real revolution in Germany lay in the awakening of the proletariat. Already he perceived that the proletariat could not liberate itself without breaking all chains, by doing away with the conditions which made classes possible and inevitable. With prophetic vision he pointed out that there would be first a political revolution, beginning in France as soon as industrial evolution had created a sufficiently strong proletariat. "Then the day of German insurrection will be announced by the crowing of the Gallican cock," he wrote. Now, perhaps sooner than he had expected, the Gallican cock's shrill crow had been heard all over Europe.

The "brave et loyal Marx" received a warm welcome from his old friends when he returned to Paris on or about the first of March, 1848. Much had happened since his expulsion by M. Guizot three years before. The obsequious Minister of Louis Philippe, reactionary to the core, but strangely obsessed by the idea that he was a sturdy Liberal, was himself an exile, a fugitive from vengeance. He arrived in London on the 3rd of March, having made his escape by way of Belgium. The reversal of rôles which had taken place was surely dramatic enough! To Marx and to his friends it was highly enjoyable and, doubtless, equally as unenjoyable to M. Guizot. And Louis Philippe, too, had escaped with his Minister, under the alias of "M. William Henry Smith"!

The monarchy was at an end. In its stead there was a Provisional Government, a Republic, to be ratified by popular vote.



Ernest Jones



Albert Brisbane

Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc, among others, were in that Provisional Government, made up of as ill-assorted a body of men as ever attempted to guide the affairs of a nation. Blanc wanted the red flag, emblem of the Communists, adopted as the national flag; he wanted universal suffrage for both sexes, and the establishment of national workshops. But the Provisional Government could do nothing but compromise over this programme of the man whom most of the members indulgently regarded as *"un rhéteur doublé d'un philanthrope."* Instead of the red flag, the old tricolour was adopted, with a red rosette added; the proposal for the establishment of national workshops — *ateliers nationales* — for the unemployed was adopted, but in a form which compelled Blanc to denounce the measure, and which M. Lamartine, the Foreign Minister, and M. Émile Thomas, the director of the workshops, confessed to have been purposely designed to discredit Blanc and destroy his influence.

Marx did not at this time meet "Little Louis"— as Blanc was nicknamed, in contradistinction to Louis Bonaparte — a fact by no means strange when we consider how busy Blanc must have been in those days so well described by Engels in an account written in 1848, of a journey he took on foot from Paris to Berne. "I saw Paris again," he says, "during the short, fleeting weeks of the republican delirium, in March and April, when the workers ate during the day their dry bread and potatoes, and at night planted 'trees of liberty' in the boulevards, had displays of fireworks, and sang the *Marseillaise,* and when the bourgeoisie hid themselves in their houses and sought to assuage the rage of the populace."

Marx and Engels were kept busy, too, during those stirring days. The *Manifesto* had given them a position of great importance in the radical world; they were now the acknowledged leaders of the Communist movement, and the demands upon their time were very great. Then, there were friends like Heine, and others, not actively engaged in politics in the

way that Flocon and others were, with whom Marx used to visit. Above all, there was the incessant crowing of the Gallican cock, the unfolding of the drama of revolution. Marx was not deceived as to the nature of the Revolution by the mere presence of men like Flocon, Blanc and Ledru-Rollin in the Provisional Government. He knew well that the Revolution was of bourgeois, not of proletarian, origin, and he foresaw that in the April elections the radical elements would be defeated. To restrain the zeal of his over-enthusiastic followers was not always an easy task, but the development of events — the triumph of the conservative elements in the April elections, the attempt, later, to coerce workingmen into the army, the revolt of Paris and the persecution of Louis Blanc after the suppression of the May rising — abundantly vindicated his judgment and proved the superiority of his insight.

The gaiety of the Parisian crowds, the noisy demonstrations, parades, tree-planting, and other hysterical outbursts of the time, would have had no attraction for Marx in any case, and he would have been the first to condemn them and make them the subject of his superb satirical wit. As it was, he was occupied with matters of far greater importance, engaged in a titanic struggle to prevent some of his fellow-exiles from carrying out a desperate plan. Day after day, night after night, this terrible ogre, this wild revolutionary "monster," at whose door it was for so many years the custom to place the blame for every outbreak of bloody revolt, struggled to calm the hot, surging tide of passion which had risen among the German radicals in Paris. That it involved setting himself against old and powerful friends, that he was misunderstood and reviled, called an intolerant despot and a coward, mattered nothing to Marx. He saw his duty and he did it. With rare wisdom and unflagging courage he opposed all appeals to passion and made a counter-appeal to patience and prudence.

Georg Herwegh, the poet, the "iron lark," had conceived the idea of forming a German legion to "carry the Revolution

to the Fatherland." He made a stirring appeal to his fellow-exiles. Had not Marx himself told them that the crowing of the Gallican cock was to be the signal for the insurrection in Germany? And now that the signal had been given, was it not their solemn duty to begin? He proposed, then, to organize an armed legion to march upon the Fatherland with its challenge to Prussian autocracy and despotism. At such a time, such a scheme could not fail to captivate the imaginations of many of the younger and more daring spirits, as well as of those of the older men who still clung to the old belief in conspiracies and insurrections which Marx had done so much to discredit and destroy.

Among the younger men who were captivated by Herwegh's plan was Wilhelm Liebknecht, later to become one of the dearest friends of Marx, and the political leader of the German Social-Democracy. When the February Revolution broke out in Paris, Liebknecht, then rather less than 22 years of age, was in Zürich, Switzerland. For two years past he had been identified with the Communist movement, but had never come into contact with either Marx or Engels. As soon as he heard of the fighting in the streets of Paris he hastened thither from Switzerland, hoping to take his place in the ranks as a soldier of the Revolution. He bore a letter of introduction from Julius Fröbel, Herwegh's old friend and publisher, to the poet, and at once became enthusiastic over the plan to have an armed legion carry the revolutionary war into Germany. He did not learn that Marx was in Paris at the time, fighting with marvelous tenacity and wisdom to defeat Herwegh's plans.

While the French Communists were absorbed in the campaign for the April elections, their German comrades were engaged in a fierce struggle led by Herwegh upon the one side, reckless, emotional and passionate, and, on the other side, by Marx, cool, analytical and prudent. To Herwegh's almost hysterical appeals to passion and sentiment, Marx replied by

an appeal to cold fact. What could such a legion do against the Prussian army? Would it not be annihilated? It was not a question of courage, he could not be quelled by taunts of cowardice. Herwegh and his friends had no monopoly of courage, and those who opposed his plans to carry the Revolution into the Fatherland by an armed invasion would be found to be quite as ready to give their lives as the most vociferous shouters of all. The question was one of duty to the cause they loved. To give their lives recklessly in a futile and abortive insurrection might be heroic, but it required greater heroism to *live* for the struggle that would not be futile and abortive. Martyrdom might be splendid, but living service was of greater value.

He appealed, too, to their sense of duty to their French comrades. Did they not see already the signs of the triumph of the hated bourgeoisie over the proletariat? Herwegh's plan would admirably serve the bourgeoisie, by taking out of Paris "troublesome elements," as well as by removing a great many German labourers, thus easing the labour market, lessening the number of unemployed and relieving the situation with which they, the bourgeoisie, had to cope. He practically accused Herwegh of being the tool of the reactionary bourgeoisie, claiming that they had "inspired" his plans. This charge was probably untrue, a desperate appeal to prejudice. Marx often made such appeals, thus creating for himself the reputation of being a bitter, intolerant and unscrupulous person. It must be remembered, however, that he was serving no personal ambition but a cause dearer than life itself. The fate of the movement seemed to him to depend, as it probably did, upon the issue of the struggle. To save the cause from disaster he was willing to incur the hatred of men who had been his bosom friends, to bear calumnies as proudly as though they were laurels.

Marx won the fight, and though Herwegh did later lead a small column of German workingmen into the duchy of

Baden, to be scattered by the regular troops like so much chaff by the wind, the great bulk of the Communists refused to be drawn into the scheme to invade the Fatherland. Instead, a manifesto to the German workers was drawn up and forwarded to Germany for general distribution. This set forth the demands of the German Communists, including: abolition of the monarchy and proclamation of a republic; payment of members of Parliament, so that workingmen might be eligible for election; conversion of feudal estates into State property; appropriation of all means of transportation, such as railways, canals, steamship services, by the State; the restriction of the laws of succession and inheritance; introduction of heavy, progressive income taxes and the abolition of all excise duties; establishment of national workshops; State guarantee of employment to all, with insurance against accident, old age and sickness; and universal free education.

This programme was, of course, an adaptation of the immediate, practical programme sketched in the *Communist Manifesto.* In the light of the development of German social legislation a generation later, the programme seems quite remarkable as a forecast. But the chief value of the document for us lies in the evidence it affords of the political genius of Marx. With great sagacity, and that skill in political leadership which he so often displayed, he had triumphed over Herwegh's romanticism at a time when romanticism was rife, and emphasized the importance of a proletarian political revolution, not as an end in itself, but as a conscious step toward a social revolution which should break the chains of the proletariat and destroy class rule.

Meanwhile, half Europe seemed to be in a ferment. The Gallican cock had apparently wakened by his crowing, not Germany alone, but half Europe. In England, the success of the February Revolution gave a new impetus to the Chartist movement, which for some years had flagged and waned, until roused, toward the end of 1847, by the agitation of the repub-

lican elements in Paris. Torn by the internal strife and dissension common to all such movements in periods of inaction and apathy, the Chartists had been somewhat reunited and reinvigorated by the news from Paris during the latter part of December, 1847, and January of the following year.

But the news of the success of the February Revolution produced an effect that was electrical. As if by magic, the dissensions disappeared and the Chartist factions came together for the common fight. It had been widely rumoured that the British government contemplated some interference with the new French Republic, and it was commonly believed that some such action, looking to the immediate restoration of the monarchy, would be attempted. So, on the second of March, a monster meeting was held in London at the Circus of the National Baths, Lambeth, at which speeches were made by the greatest Chartist orators, Ernest Jones, Feargus O'Connor and George Julian Harney; resolutions passed protesting against any interference with the French Republic by the British government, and a deputation, consisting of Jones, Harney, and McGrath, chosen to proceed to Paris to present an address to the Provisional Government. Four days later Trafalgar Square was packed by a mob of London citizens, shouting themselves hoarse cheering for "the Charter" and the French Revolution.

Upon the same day, March 6, riotings took place in various provincial cities. Thousands of hunger-maddened unemployed operatives marched through the streets of Glasgow, sacking shops, singing Chartist songs and shouting "Bread or Revolution!" The troops were called out and several persons shot down in the streets. While this was going on in Scotland there were riotings all over England. At Manchester, for example, thousands gathered in front of the workhouse and demanded the release of the inmates, stormed the police station and attacked the police in the streets with bludgeons secured in smashing the stalls in the market place. In Ireland

John Mitchell was publishing in *The United Irishman* plain, pointed instructions how to conduct street warfare, urging even the women to fight, to throw bottles and other missiles at the troops, and not to hesitate at the use of vitriol for the same purpose.

The British government was aroused and frightened. With such a condition of affairs at home it could give no thought to interference with France. Thus, part of the purpose of the Chartist leaders was fulfilled. In almost every city, the government had troops secreted, ready to shoot down rioters. Orders were issued to all who sold firearms and other weapons that great care should be exercised, and that they would be held responsible as accessories should any such weapons be used by their purchasers to attack life or property. It is said that gun manufacturers were ordered to unscrew the barrels of all firearms in their stock, so as to render them useless and dangerous only to their users. The British flag was everywhere torn down and trampled upon, and all over the land, in the cities, the French tricolour with the red rosette was displayed. Bands played the *Marseillaise* from morn till night, and thousands of Englishmen who had never learned a word of French before, learned from the Chartist orators to cry *"Vive la République! Vive la France!"*

Day after day, great meetings were held in London and all the principal provincial cities and leading Chartist orators, like Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, were followed by multitudes of people shouting alternately in English and French, "Hurrah for the Charter!" *"Vive la République!"* "Three cheers for Liberty!" *"Vive la France!"*

On the 13th of March more than twenty thousand persons gathered on Kennington Common to listen to speeches by Ernest Jones and other orators, undeterred by the presence of more than four thousand police, many of whom were mounted and armed with pistols and sabres. All through the evening excited thousands thronged the streets, singing and cheering

for the Charter and French Revolution and next day, after Jones had reported the result of the hasty visit of the Chartist deputation to Paris, the singing and cheers were renewed, and "*Vive la République! Vive la France!*" resounded through the London streets, a chorus of solemn warning to the government. The French Revolution had kindled a revolutionary blaze from Land's End to John o'Groat's.

It would take us too far from our purpose to continue the account of the English movement up to the pathetic fiasco of the 10th of April, when London presented the aspect of a besieged city. All the shops and factories being closed, heavy battery guns were placed at various points, troops drawn from all over the country were massed ready to slay the workers with bullets or sabres as they marched to the House of Parliament to present their monster petition for the Charter with its millions of signatures. Nine thousand soldiers openly paraded, and tens of thousands secreted at strategic points, (not to speak of many thousands more under orders in the other cities) six thousand police, mostly armed with cutlasses, broadswords or pistols, and eight thousand special constables — such was the force upon which the government relied to crush any attempt of the workers to parade behind that petition which required the power of four horses to draw it.

All these preparations had been made because there had been so much talk of physical force. It had been openly boasted that thousands of the Chartists would go armed and that the refusal of the petition, or the least resistance on the part of the police, would be the signal for a sharp, decisive blow. When they saw the force which had been mobilized by the government, the Chartist leaders advised the abandonment of the procession and a few delegates took the petition to the House of Commons. It bore five million, seven hundred thousand signatures, the largest petition ever presented to that much-petitioned body. The German Communists were enthusiastic supporters of the movement, many of them belonging

to the physical force advocates. At the Arbeiter Bildungs-verein, which Ernest Jones, who was a good German scholar, often attended, there were many and long disputes between the advocates of an appeal to arms and the more moderate element. The night before the great demonstration which collapsed so utterly, the more violent members met and provided themselves with such weapons as they could muster. Even George Eccarius, of whom we shall hear often as our story develops, armed himself — choosing a weapon to the use of which he was accustomed, an enormous pair of tailors' shears!

On the 13th of March, the day of the immense gathering of Chartists upon Kennington Common, while the British workers were shouting themselves hoarse with cries of "*Vive la France!*" the spirit of the Revolution was regnant in the Austrian capital. Upon that day the people of Vienna rose against the government. "It was," says Marx, "a government detested by all, a government so universally hated, that the small minority of nobles and money lords which had supported it made itself invisible on the very first attack." Prince Metternich, the Prime Minister, had tried to avert the contagion of revolution by so misrepresenting the news from Paris as to make it appear that the February Revolution was a reign of Anarchy, Socialism and terror, brought about as the result of the triumph of the labourers over the capitalists.

It was a shrewd move. To appeal to the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the petty traders, to inspire them with an earnest fear of an uprising, which might give the proletariat its opportunity to attack them, was a brilliant idea. Unfortunately for Metternich, however, he was so unanimously detested by all classes that no credence was given to any statement he made. The more he tried to poison their minds against the French revolutionary spirit, the more it appealed to them. Students and others sang the *Marseillaise* in the streets and the tricolour appeared. There was, as Marx has

very clearly shown, another reason why the bourgeoisie did not listen to Metternich, a reason born of the economic development of Austria. They "had never seen workingmen act as a class, or stand up for their own distinct class interests. They had, from their past experience, no idea of the possibility of any differences springing up between classes that now were so heartily united in upsetting a government hated by all." They only knew that the working people were as earnest and enthusiastic as themselves in demanding a Constitution, Trial by Jury, Freedom of the Press, and other popular rights.

Thus it was that on March the 13th an almost unanimous population rose and, after some sharp fighting, seized the city. Students and tradesmen and artisans joined in the demand for liberty and popular rights. They compelled the magistrates to go with them, and, forcing their way into the imperial palace, loudly demanded that the Emperor should dismiss his old counsellors and grant a new constitution. Metternich resigned and fled to London, and an imperial proclamation was issued, abolishing the press censorship, establishing a national guard, and convoking a National Assembly. Blood had been shed, it is true, but relatively little. On the 16th of May, the Emperor and Empress fled with their family to Innsbruck.

In Germany, too, the news of the February Revolution produced a profound impression. The *Marseillaise* was sung by crowds upon the streets, and in the taverns. In Cologne, a former artillery officer, August von Willich, of whom we shall hear further, led a mob into the Council Chamber and demanded that the municipality as a whole petition the King for freedom, for constitutional government. A few days later, on March the 18th, Professor Gottfried Kinkel, famous later for the imprisonment from which he was daringly rescued by Carl Schurz and others, and of whom, also, we shall hear more, led a great multitude in solemn procession through the streets, carrying the black, red and gold tricolour, the forbid-



Gottfried Kinkel

den banner of revolution. The city seemed to be draped with black, red and gold.

In Berlin, also, there had been an outbreak. On the 18th of March, in the early afternoon, tens of thousands of people gathered in front of the royal palace. Four days before the King had announced that he would on that day, the 18th, announce further important concessions to his people in response to their demands, earlier concessions having proved unsatisfactory. The King appeared on the balcony and spoke, but could not be heard. He was loudly cheered, however, by the crowd in the belief that he had granted what they asked. A cry went up for the removal of the troops surrounding the palace and the people made way for the soldiers to leave. Then, without warning, two shots rang out, whether ordered in the hope of frightening the people, the result of accident, or of the fear of excited soldiers, these shots had the effect of rousing the people to rebellion. "To arms! To arms!" was the cry that went up from thousands of angry throats, and barricades were raised as if by magic. Paving stones were torn up and made into barricades, and over each barricade waved the red, black and gold flag of revolution. Men of all classes armed themselves with whatever weapons they could command, rifles, shotguns, pikes, axes, broadswords, and whatever else could be used for the purpose. The soldiers were ordered to attack the people and soon the streets flowed with blood. Men fought behind the barricades, or in the open where barricades were not to be made, and the women brought them food and drink, urged them on and cared for the wounded as they fell.

All night the battle raged, the roar of cannon and rattle of musketry mingling with the shrieks of the wounded and of the women behind the barricades. One hour the King — already insane, perhaps — ordered the fight stopped; the next he ordered it to be resumed. Soon after midnight he wrote an ad-

dress to " My dear Berliners," pleading that the two shots which caused the insurrection were accidental, that miscreants, mostly foreigners, had goaded on the fratricidal strife. He promised to withdraw the troops the moment the barricades were removed, protesting his fatherly affection for them. The appeal for peace fell upon deaf ears. The fighting continued.

On the afternoon of the 19th, Sunday, when the revolutionists had captured a military commander of importance, General Malendorf, the King and his advisers decided upon the withdrawal of the troops. Peace was concluded upon the understanding that the troops should leave Berlin, that freedom of the press should be secured, and that Prussia should have a democratic constitution.

Carl Schurz, from whose *Reminiscences* the foregoing account of the insurrection is mainly drawn, describes an intensely dramatic incident which took place as soon as the soldiers had marched off: " From all parts of the city," he says, " solemn and silent processions moved toward the royal palace. They escorted the bodies of those of the people who had been killed in the battle; the corpses of the slain were carried aloft on litters, their gaping wounds uncovered, their heads wreathed with laurel branches and immortelles. So the processions marched into the inner palace court, where the litters were placed in rows in ghastly parade, and around them the multitude of men with pallid faces, begrimed with blood and powder smoke, many of them still carrying the weapons with which they had fought during the night; and among them women and children bewailing their dead. Then the King was loudly called for. He appeared in an open gallery, pale and dejected, by his side the weeping Queen. 'Hat off!' the multitude shouted, and the King took off his hat to the dead below. Then a deep voice among the crowd intoned the old hymn, 'Jesus, meine Zuversicht'—'Jesus, my Refuge'—in which all present joined. The chorus finished, the King silently with-

drew and the procession moved away in grim solemnity."[1]

It is not necessary to describe in detail the sweeping movement of the revolutionary spirit of 1848. To attempt such a description would involve writing a volume for that purpose alone. And that would be an altogether superfluous task, for Marx himself has done it with rare genius in that little book, *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany in 1848.* It is sufficient for our purpose that we have seen how half of Europe was roused by the Gallican cock, that we have heard the *Marseillaise* sung from London to Vienna and Berlin.

During the whole of March and April Marx and Engels remained in Paris. They were not inactive — who could be at such a time? — but they were not victimized by the illusive hopes which obsessed so many of their friends and allies. They welcomed the Revolution, not because they entertained the false hope that the mere destruction of reactionary governments would bring about any great social change, but because they realized that it was a necessary preliminary condition for the development of a class-conscious proletarian movement such as they were seeking to develop. The greatest task before Marx, then, was to hold the really revolutionary proletariat together, to strip the revolutionary rising of its illusory features by interpreting the significance of the kaleidoscopic events of the day.

Marx knew very well that the union of different classes in the struggle for the overthrow of despotism was perfectly natural, that by no other means could such a struggle be successfully waged. He knew, also, that such a union must of necessity be a temporary one; that as soon as the common enemy, the reactionary despotism, was vanquished, the victors would divide into hostile camps and fight each other. He foresaw that as soon as the immediate aims of the revolutionary allies were attained, the bourgeoisie would use all their

[1] Vol. I — pp. 120–121.

powers to crush the proletariat, should the latter seek to gain any substantial social advantage. Thus the Revolution would do two things: first, it would gain the civic freedom, the political weapons, necessary for the social struggle; second, it would destroy the illusions which obscured the fundamental class antagonisms upon which society rests, and show that the victory over absolutism, made possible only by the unity of the classes, produced not peace, but a new social struggle.

The opportunity for a great proletarian political movement, therefore, from the point of view of Marx and Engels, would be the greatest gain resulting from the Revolution. Their immediate task was to shatter by merciless criticism the illusions of those who thought that the accomplishment of the aim of the revolutionists would be equivalent to the liberation of all the oppressed from all forms of bondage; to hold together a sufficient number of followers to take advantage of the opportunity which they foresaw would be forthcoming.

For that opportunity they had not long to wait. By the middle of April it was evident that the revolutionary torrent was stemmed. Where there had been rejoicing at the hope of early victory in the middle of March, there was a sense of sadness and oppression in the middle of April, due to feelings of disappointment and impending disaster. The 10th of April witnessed the pitiful collapse of the Chartists in England, quelled by such a display of force as every despot in Europe envied. The 16th of the month saw the suppression of a rising of the workers in Paris, an ill-timed, premature revolt, symptomatic of that deep and bitter disappointment of the proletariat which was to find such bloody expression later, on the 15th of May and the 25th of June. The time had come when it was necessary for the leaders of the proletarian Communists to bestir themselves.

May found Marx and Engels in Cologne, preparing to carry on a vigorous proletarian agitation. Because Marx has been so often denounced as a "doctrinaire dogmatist," who

insisted upon an implicit and full acceptance of all his theories as the only condition upon which he would work with anybody, and because many of his followers, in his name, have made of " Marxism " a dogma and felt impelled to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma, it is worth while observing that he did not attempt to create a sect based upon an agreement as to theoretical principles. Just as in the previous year, he had insisted that the all-important thing was the actual movement of the working class, so now he did not insist upon theoretical agreement as a basis for practical cooperation. " When we returned to Germany," says Engels, " in spring, 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it." Marx became the vice-president of the Democratic club and a member of the District Committee of the Rhenish Democrats, whose headquarters were at Cologne. Among the members of the extreme left of this party was Ferdinand Lassalle, who was then living at Düsseldorf, and who soon came into contact with Marx through the official organ of the party, the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung*, of which Marx was editor in chief.

The *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* made its first appearance on the first day of June, 1848. Although frequently so represented, this was not in any sense of the word a Socialist paper. It was the organ of the Democratic Party, that is, of the most advanced section of the middle-class radicals. Among its chief contributors were Freiligrath, Wilhelm Wolff, Engels, Ernst Droucke, George Weerth, the wit and poet, and Ferdinand Lassalle. Probably no political newspaper ever published in Germany before that time or since had such a remarkable set of contributors. It is easy to understand how, in a very little while, it became the most powerful organ of the radical opposition.

Like its predecessor of 1842–1843, the *Neue Rhenische*

Zeitung was owned by middle-class stockholders. Like it, also, the new journal soon caused the reactionary government to regard it with hatred and fear. Marx assailed the government with all his accustomed audacity and brilliance. Audacity was the great need of that period, when the tide of reaction was rising and vacillating policies and temporizing counsels were rampant. And Marx was, as ever, audacious; he might have adopted for his motto Danton's historic saying, *de l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!* Sometimes their editor's audacity frightened the stockholders and the more timid members of the Democratic Party quite as much as it harassed the government.

Such was the case, for example, when news came of the June rising in Paris. Marx at once took the side of the workers, brilliantly defending their cause and attacking the bourgeois French National Assembly with all that merciless invective of which he was master. That this open, unconcealed espousal of the cause of the French workers would be certain to draw upon the paper the wrath of the government; that it would be resented by some of the stockholders, mattered nothing to the brave editor, whose thought was ever of the working class.

After the defeat of the workers on the 25th of June, after the terrible grenades of Cavaignac had reduced the workers to silent hatred, and reddened the streets with blood. Marx wrote in the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung:*

"The last official remains of the February Revolution, the Executive Commission, has disappeared like a hazy phantom before the seriousness of events. Lamartine's Roman candles have transformed themselves into Cavaignac's war-rockets. The "fraternité," which the exploiting class proclaimed in February on the forehead of Paris, with gigantic letters, on every prison, on every barracks, its true unsophisticated, prosaic expression is the civil war, civil war in its most frightful shape, the war between Labor and Capital. This "fraternité"


POLICE GÉNÉRALE
DU ROYAUME
Passe-Port
valable pour un an.
DÉPARTEMENT
SOUS-PRÉFECTURE
COMMUNE
Registre
SIGNALEMENT
Age de
taille d'un mètre
centimètres
cheveux
front
sourcils
yeux
nez
bouche
barbe
menton
visage
teint
SIGNES PARTICULIERS
Signature du Porteur
Charles Marx
(P. G.)
Passe-port Gratuit,
valable pour un an.
Nous
Invitons les Autorités civiles et militaires à laisser passer et librement circuler d
département
département
profession d
natif de
département d
demeurant à
et à lui donner aide et protection, en cas de besoin.
Délivré sur
Fait à

Karl Marx's Passport, Paris, 1848

flashed before all eyes on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the middle classes illumined, whilst the Paris of the proletariat was bled to death. The "fraternité" lasted just as long as the interests of the middle class fraternised with those of the proletariat.

. . . .

"The February Revolution was the revolution of moderation, the revolution of a general sympathy, because the contrasts which coalesced in it against the royal power, lay undeveloped, peacefully side by side, because the social contract that formed its background had only an aerial existence, the existence in phrase, in word only. The June Revolution is the rotten revolution, the nauseous revolution; because fact has taken the place of phrase, because the republic revealed the head of the monster itself by knocking off its protecting, concealing crown. '*Order!*' was the war-cry of Guizot. '*Order!*' shouted Sebastian, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. '*Order!*' shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie. '*Order!*' thundered its cannons, tearing the body of the proletariat. None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie was a plot against order, for it left the dominion of the class; it left the slavery of the workmen, it left untouched the bourgeois order, however often the political form of this misrule and this slavery changed. June has touched this order. Woe to the June Revolution!"

The *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* was the only German paper which took the part of the insurgent workers of Paris without apology or equivocation. For this bold action Marx was denounced by many members of the Democratic Party, and by all the reactionaries and their press. The *Kreuz Zeitung* shrieked at the "Chimborazo impudence" with which Marx attacked everything holy and defied all authority, and that in a fortress where there were eight thousand troops. Day after day, week after week, the paper came out with trenchant attacks upon the government, upon the failure of the National Assembly to meet the expectations of the people, and upon all the

reactionary elements. Article after article roused the fury of the Frankfort Imperial Department of Justice and was denounced to the State prosecutor with demands for the legal prosecution of the paper, but Marx and his friends kept bravely on. Even when, during the autumn, the paper was officially suspended, under martial law, the city being placed in a state of siege, the paper came out every day just the same, calmly edited and printed in plain view of the main guard house! A mass meeting was held, in the open air, in defiance of orders prohibiting it, at which protests were made against the declaration of the siege and the "suppression" of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung*. After the meeting barricades were built in the streets by the citizens, but there was no fighting.

The friendship of Marx and Lassalle dates from this period. Both were active members of the Democratic Party, and Lassalle frequently sent communications to the District Committee of which Marx was a member, and sometimes attended the meetings. Frequently, also, he wrote for the party organ and at least occasionally visited the editorial office. Thus a friendship gradually developed which was fraught with great importance to the lives of both men, and still more to the Socialist movement. Like Marx, Lassalle recognised the importance of educating the proletariat, and what made him of influence in the party was his close connection with the working class at Düsseldorf, where he lived.

In the course of the summer of 1848, a Democratic congress was held at Cologne, at which Marx was a delegate, taking a prominent part in the proceedings. Whether Lassalle attended the congress or not, there seems to be no record, though his presence there would have been most natural in view of his position in the party. Among the delegates were the youthful Carl Schurz and his friend, Professor Kinkel. The congress itself has no interest for us, and the only reason for this reference to it is the pen-picture of Marx which Schurz gives in his *Reminiscences*. It is not a flattering picture:

" He could not have been much more than thirty years old at that time, but he already was the recognised head of the advanced Socialistic school. The somewhat thick-set man, with his broad forehead, his very black hair and beard and his dark sparkling eyes, at once attracted general attention. He enjoyed the reputation of having acquired great learning, and as I knew very little of his discoveries and theories, I was all the more eager to gather words of wisdom from the lips of that famous man. This expectation was disappointed in a peculiar way. Marx's utterances were indeed full of meaning, logical and clear, but I have never seen a man whose bearing was so provoking and intolerable. To no opinion, which differed from his, he accorded the honor of even a condescending consideration. Everyone who contradicted him he treated with abject contempt; every argument that he did not like he answered either with biting scorn at the unfathomable ignorance that had prompted it, or with opprobrious aspersions upon the motives of him who had advanced it. I remember most distinctly the cutting disdain with which he pronounced the word " bourgeois "; and as a " bourgeois," that is, as a detestable example of the deepest mental and moral degeneracy, he denounced everyone that dared to oppose his opinion. Of course, the propositions advanced or advocated by Marx in that meeting were voted down because everyone whose feelings had been hurt by his conduct was inclined to support everything that Marx did not favour. It was very evident that not only had he not won any adherents, but had repelled many who otherwise might have become his followers."

This judgment, by a romantic and impressionable youth of nineteen, undoubtedly contains some elements of truth, but it should not be taken too seriously. Nothing could be more unjust than to regard it as a faithful picture of Marx. It ill accords with the patient, generous teacher the workingmen knew in Brussels, as well as with much that we know of his after life. It accords ill, too, with another account we have of his manner at that time from the pen of an American writer. In the summer of 1848, Albert Brisbane, the brilliant American exponent of Fourier's theories, was in Cologne, whither he had gone from Paris by way of Brussels after the February Revolution.

The picture from his pen which follows is in striking contrast to that of Schurz, though it undoubtedly refers to the same gathering:

"I found there Karl Marx, the leader of the popular movement. The writings of Marx on Labor and Capital and the social theories he then elaborated, have had more influence on the great Socialistic movement of Europe than those of any other man. He it was who laid the foundation of that modern collectivism which at present bids fair to become the leading Socialist doctrine of Europe. He was then just rising into prominence; a man of some thirty years, short, solidly built, with a fine face and bushy black hair. His expression was that of great energy, and behind his self-contained reserve of manner were visible the fire and passion of a resolute soul. Marx's supreme sentiment was a hatred of the power of capital, with its spoliations, its selfishness, and its subjection of the labouring classes.

. . . .

"Marx did not advocate any integral scientific organization of industry . . . but he saw the fundamental falseness of our whole economic system; he saw the immense power accumulated wealth gave to the few who yielded it, and he saw how helpless labour was without combination, without unity of thought or action and oppressed by the capitalists' oligarchy. He unfolded the radical falseness of this system, presenting it clearly to the minds of advanced thinkers, and out of this has grown the great movement now deeply agitating the progressive thought of Europe. The indications are that it is destined before long to revolutionize the whole economy of our civilization. It will introduce an entirely new order of society based on what we may call capitalist equality — the proprietary equality of humanity and the equality of industrial rights and privileges.

"As I remember that young man uttering his first words of protest against our economic system, I reflect how little it was imagined then that his theories would one day agitate the world and become the important lever in the overthrow of time-honoured institutions. How little did the contemporaries of St. Paul imagine the influence which that simple mind would produce on the future of the world! Who could have supposed at that time that he was of more importance than the Roman

Senate or the reigning Emperor — more even than all the Emperors of Christendom to follow? In modern times Karl Marx may have been as important in his way as was St. Paul in his." [1]

Marx was not exactly a gentle antagonist. That contemptuous, satirical, half-sneering expression of the mouth which impressed so many would of itself warn us against the error of regarding him as the most amiable person one could desire for an opponent. He had, like all strong men, the defects of his qualities. Just as he was capable of strong attachments, so he was capable of strong antipathies. Like all great lovers, he could hate with an intense, implacable hatred. The bitter invective and merciless satire which characterized his polemical writings were rather intensified in oral debate by his intense manner and almost blazing eyes. Yet he could be, and generally was, patient and tolerant in discussion. Indeed, his patience was frequently commented upon. Upon one occasion when, as usual, he had been rebuking some "hot-heads" and counselling patience, a young man said to him: "I marvel, Comrade, that you who have struggled so long can be so patient." The reply he received was characteristic: "When you have been impatient as long as I have been, you will not marvel at my patience, Comrade."

By reason of the very nature of their work, the pioneer advocates of unpopular causes are peculiarly liable both to be intolerant and to be accused of intolerance and bigotry without just cause. Every Socialist propagandist of large experience knows how sensitive many people are, how prone to take an unanswerable exposure of the weakness of their opinions as a personal affront. For the rest, it need only be said that the Cologne congress took place at a very trying time, when feeling upon all sides was intense; that Marx was witnessing the incoming tide of reaction, while the National Assembly was supinely frittering away all the opportunities of the revolution-

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[1] *Albert Brisbane: a Mental Biography* — By Redelia Brisbane, pages 273–274.

ary cause; that young Schurz was romantically attached to Professor Kinkel, with whom Marx clashed, as he did on many subsequent occasions, much to that gentleman's discomfiture. And the German-American statesman and publicist was not exactly the person best fitted to reproach Marx, or anyone else, for intolerance!

Early in the summer, soon after Marx and Engels reached Cologne, they were visited by their old friend, Michael Bakunin, who had followed them from Paris. As usual, Marx and Bakunin quarrelled, the subject of their disagreement being the opposition of Marx and Engels to Herwegh's plan of invading Germany by armed legions, and their subsequent trenchant criticism of his actions. Bakunin left Cologne in high dudgeon, vowing that he would never speak to Marx again. Upon his side Marx was almost as bitter.

It was not alone the fact of his agreement with Herwegh's plan which led Bakunin to quarrel with Marx. There was also a sense of loyalty to his friend Herwegh, who was, he felt, attacked in his absence. Bakunin could never dissociate principles from personalities. When Marx and Engels violently assailed Herwegh's plan Bakunin regarded the criticism as an attack upon Herwegh himself, though such was far from the intention of the two critics. Many years later, in 1871, Bakunin wrote: "On this subject, when I think of it now, I must say frankly that Marx and Engels were right. They truly estimated the affairs of those days."

On the 6th of July, 1848, there appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* an article reflecting upon Bakunin's honour which he never forgot or wholly forgave, and which added greatly to the bitterness of his feelings toward Marx. The article accused Bakunin of being a paid spy in the employ of the Russian Ambassador, giving the name of the famous novelist, "George Sand," as authority for the charge, intimating that she possessed certain papers which would prove it.[1] Of course, Baku-

[1] "In Bezug auf die Slavenpropaganda, versicherte man uns gestern,

nin was furious when the article was brought to his attention. He wrote to George Sand begging her to clear his name of the odious charge, which she did later in a letter to the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung.* "The facts related by your correspondent are absolutely false. I never had any documents which contained insinuations against M. Bakunin. I never had any reason, or authority, to express any doubts as to the loyalty of his character and the sincerity of his views. I appeal to your honour and to your conscience to print this letter in your paper immediately."

Meantime, Bakunin had written an indignant denial, not to the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung,* but to the *Allgemeine Oder-Zeitung,* of Breslau. Marx reproduced the letter in his paper on July the 16th, ten days after the publication of the original charge, with a brief note of explanation. The charge had been sent by the regular Paris correspondent of the paper,[1] and the editors had published it as a matter of duty, for it was the duty of the press to watch the conduct of public men. Moreover, they had rendered M. Bakunin a service by giving him an opportunity to dispel a suspicion long current in certain Parisian circles.[2]

Marx had thus rendered the *amende honorable,* though Bakunin was not entirely appeased. A few days later, however, a formal reconciliation with Marx was effected through the intervention of friends of both. It is easy to understand that the wound rankled, nevertheless, and that Bakunin never ceased to

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sei George Sand in den Besitz von Papieren gelangt, welche den von hier verbannten Russen, M. Bakunin, stark compromittirten indem sie ihn als ein Werkzeug oder in jüngster Zeit gewonnenen *Agenten Russlands* darstellten, den der grösste Theil der Schuld der neuerdings verhafteten unglücklichen Polen traf. George Sand hat diese Papiere einigen ihrer Vertrauten gezeigt."—*Neu. Rhen. Zeit.*—July 6, 1848.

[1] Wilhelm Wolff.

[2] "Wir erfüllten damit die Pflicht der Presse, öffentliche Charactere streng zu überwachen, und gaben, damit zugleich Herrn Bakunin Gelegenheit einen Verdacht niederzuschlagen, der in Paris gewissen Kreisen allerdings aufgeworfen wurde."—*Neu. Rhen. Zeit.*—July 16, 1848.

feel aggrieved and embittered over the incident. However much we may condemn Bakunin's views — and they seem wildly fantastic in the light of subsequent experience — it is very difficult to imagine such a charge being brought against him. Bakunin was no spy. Fanatical he was, and often quite unscrupulous in controversy, but not Marx himself was more loyal to the working class.

Most cruel of all was the fact that the slander once uttered pursued him all through his life. It was used against him at the congress of the League of Peace and Liberty at Geneva, in 1867, and on many other occasions. Even Marx himself, it is to be regretted, stooped to a rather cowardly use of the old charge in one of his "confidential communications" sent to the Brunswick Committee in 1870, through Dr. Kugelmann. Marx did not definitely make the charge against Bakunin in the circular referred to, but wrote of him: "Bakunin . . . found opponents there who not only would not allow him to exercise a dictatorial influence, but also said that he was a Russian spy." That it was cowardly for Marx thus to write, cannot be successfully disputed. He knew the origin of the charge and how false it was, for he had himself denied it through the columns of the London *Morning Advertiser* in September, 1853. He knew also that when it was repeated by Liebknecht at Basel, in 1869, at the congress of the International, Bakunin demanded an investigation by a jury of honour and was abundantly vindicated. The jury, which included Cæsar de Paepe, Moses Hess, George Eccarius, and others equally well known, found Liebknecht guilty of wrongful action "in repeating calumnies," and Liebknecht apologised to Bakunin, saying, "I owe you honourable reparation." In view of these facts it is not to be denied that the bitterness of the struggle betrayed Marx into the use of a cowardly method of attack which contrasted strongly with his usual scrupulous honesty and honour.

A few months after his reconciliation with Marx, Bakunin published his *Appeal to the Slavs,* which led to another trench-

ant criticism by Marx which Bakunin deeply resented, though it was entirely free from personal malice. Bakunin's pamphlet outlined his gospel of "Panslavisme." He urged the union, both cultural and political, of all the Slavs for the purpose of destroying the Russian, Austrian and Prussian empires. He believed that this Slav union would prove to be a step toward the formation of a great Federation of Slavs with a Communistic basis, all the Slavs being, according to his theory, Communists by instinct. He developed a wonderful agitation in favour of the independence of the Slavs and against the Austrian government.

Against this "Panslavisme" Marx set himself with great energy. "Bakunin is our friend," he wrote in the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* on the 14th of February, 1849, "but that does not prevent us from criticizing his pamphlet." He argued that except the Poles and the Russians, and a small number of Turkish Slavs, no other division of the Slavs could have any future as an independent people, for the reason that the fundamental conditions, historical, geographical, political and industrial, were lacking. The Panslavistic movement Marx denounced as "a movement which strives only to subject the civilized West to the barbarian East; the city to the village; commerce, industry, science and progress to the primitive culture of the Slavish serfs."

As a result of his frequent opposition to Bakunin, Marx made a bitter foe of another great Russian revolutionist, Alexander Herzen. For rather more than twenty years the antagonism of Marx and Herzen equalled that of Marx and Bakunin. Since the enmity of Herzen was but a reflex of that of Bakunin, and due to precisely the same causes, it would be an unprofitable task to follow it in detail. Herzen was a great admirer of Bakunin, and his intimate friend, and to attack Bakunin was to offend Herzen. Quite as enthusiastic a Panslavist as Bakunin, he was equally affected by the trenchant attacks of Marx. With all his brilliance, Herzen was little more than

the echo of Bakunin during the early years of their association. By the time they met in London, after Bakunin's return from exile, he had drifted far from his friend and mentor in his theoretical views, being much more of a Marxist than a Bakuninist.

His hatred of Marx and the Marxists, however, was little, if at all, abated by this modification of his views. In 1852 an article had appeared in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung,* written, it is said, by Marx, making against Herzen the familiar charge of being a paid spy of the Russian government, and the charge rankled in his breast. When he received a letter from Bakunin, in 1869, in which Marx was called a giant, he wrote for an explanation, and Bakunin replied in a letter dated August 28, 1869, as follows: "Why did I then call him a giant? Because in justice it is impossible to deny his greatness. I cannot deny his immense service in the cause of Socialism, which he has served wisely, energetically and truly for twenty-five years of my acquaintance with him, and in which direction he, undoubtedly, excelled us all. He was one of the founders of the International society, and that is in my opinion an excellent merit, which I will always acknowledge, his attitude toward us notwithstanding."

It was about this time that Bakunin began the translation of the first volume of Marx's *Capital* into Russian, a task which he never completed. When Herzen learned of this he wrote a letter to his friend, Ogarev, which shows his almost pathetic dependence upon Bakunin, his lack of independent thought. "God speed the Bakunin translation of Marx!" he wrote. "But I don't understand why he concealed his new attitude (i. e., of friendship). *My* entire enmity to the Marxists was *on account of Bakunin.*" In less than six months from the date of this letter Herzen was dead. It is said that before his death he definitely embraced Marxism.[1]

[1] Most of the facts relating to Herzen are from an article by Vladimir Ivanovsky in *Mir Boji,* January, 1907.

On the 9th of November, 1848, the Democrats of Cologne held a public meeting. The hall was crowded and the meeting in full swing when Marx entered, bearing a telegram in his hand. A great hush fell over the meeting and all faces were anxiously turned toward Marx as he made his way to the front and ascended the platform, the pallor of his face deepened by contrast with his jet black hair and beard. The message was brief and Marx read it with solemn tones; in accordance with martial law, Robert Blum had been shot in Vienna. Had the shooting taken place in the hall, before their very eyes, the effect could hardly have been greater. For a few seconds, which seemed like so many hours, there was an almost breathless silence. Then, like the roar of an angry sea, the fury of the crowd burst forth in cries of wrath and cheers for the Revolution.

Robert Blum, a native of Cologne, was a member of the Frankfort National Assembly, and the most eloquent orator in that body, although his eloquence was of the kind suited to popular platforms rather than to the floor of a parliamentary body. A thorough plebeian, he belonged to what was called the "Moderate Democracy," which term may perhaps express to the reader the indefiniteness and indecision of his views. He belonged to the most moderate section of the "Left." A man of much charm of manner, he was easily the most popular member of the Assembly. When the October insurrection broke out in Vienna, Blum and another were sent there as delegates by the left wing of the Assembly to uphold, together with other commissioners, the authority of the National Assembly, that tragi-comic "parliament of the people."

Blum saw at once that the fate of the whole revolutionary movement was for the time being dependent upon Vienna, and that compared with the importance of holding that city, the debates at Frankfort were child's play. He at once assumed command of part of the revolutionary forces, and proved himself a capable leader, cool, courageous and efficient. He re-

tarded the progress of the Austrian army for a considerable time, keeping them out of the city by burning the Tabor Bridge which spanned the river Danube. For this he was shot and the importance attached to his execution lay, not so much in the regret which the death of so great a hero called forth, as in the conviction that by the murder of one of their most popular members, their representative, the members of the National Assembly would at last be stirred to decisive action. "Blum will be avenged and the great blow will be struck!" was the cry. But the National Assembly did nothing more effective than to pass a resolution which by reason of its mildness was almost as much of an insult to the memory of the dead hero as a rebuke to Austria. From that moment, the situation was clearly hopeless. How the most radical of the Cologne Democrats regarded the martyrdom of Blum, may be seen from Freiligrath's poem, which appeared in the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung:*

BLUM.

In that great city of Cologne, 'tis forty years ago to-day,
A child set up a lusty cry as on its mother's knees it lay —
A babe with glad, bright, open brow, true omen of its life begun,
Fit emblem of its father's worth, a stalwart worker's sturdy son —
So loud a cry that toiling nigh the father paused to hear his child,
The mother pressed its little lips the closer to her breast and smiled;
Against her breast, upon her arm she softly sang her son to sleep —
Such cradle-song the hearers long among their sunny memories keep.

In this same city of Cologne, 'mid moaning winds of winter wild,
To-day in deepest organ tones resounds the grave-song of the child.



Robert Blum

'Tis not the mother bowed in grief who sings it o'er her fallen son;
Nay, all Cologne bewails the death of him whose toil too soon is done.
With solemn woe the city speaks: "Thou who didst bear the noble dead,
Remain to weep within thy home, and bow to earth thine aged head.
I also am his mother! Yea, and yet a mightier one than I,
I and the Revolution's self, for whom he laid him down to die.
Stay thou within and nurse thy foe. 'Tis we will do him honour here;
'Tis we will watch and requiem sing for thy dead son upon his bier."

So speaks Cologne: and organ notes through her dim cloisters throbbing go.
The pillars of the altar stand enshrouded in the suits of woe;
The tapers give uncertain light, the clouds of incense denser roll;
A thousand mourners weep to hear the requiem for a parted soul.
Thus doth the mother-city pay the toiler's son his honour due;
Him who in far Vienna's walls the minions of oppression slew;
Whom native worth had helped to climb the steep and painful path of life,
And meet the foremost of the land on equal terms of civil strife;
The man who, whatso'er might hap, could ne'er the People's cause betray —
Why grasp ye not your swords in wrath, O ye that sing, and ye that pray?
Ye organ pipes, to trumpets turn, and fright the scoundrels with your breath,
And din into their dastard ears the dreadful news of sudden death,
Those scoundrels who the order gave, the cruel murder dared to do —
The hero leant him on his knee in that autumnal morning's dew,
Then silent fell upon his face in blood —'tis eight short days ago —

Two bullets smote him on the breast, and laid his head forever
low.

They gave him rest and peace at last; he lies in peaceful raiment
dressed;
Then sing a requiem round his grave, an anthem of eternal rest;
Yea, rest for him who has bequeathed unrest to us for evermore;
For in the dim cathedral aisles, where moving masses thronged
the door,
Methought through all the noise I heard a sound as of a whisper
strange,
"The passing moment is not all; the organs shall to trumpets
change!
Yes, they that now sing dirges here shall seize the sword in
wrath sublime,
For nought but fierce, unceasing strife yet wrestles in the womb
of time.
A dirge of death is no revenge, a song of sorrow is not rage,
But soon the dread avenger's foot shall tramp across the black-
stoled stage;
The dread avenger, robed in red, and smirched and stained with
blood and tears,
Shall yet proclaim a ceaseless war through all the coming tide
of years;
Then shall another requiem sound, and rouse again the listening
dead —
Thou dost not call for vengeance due, but time will bring her
banner red.
The wrongs of others cry aloud; deep tides of wrath arise in
flood —
And woe to all the tyrants then whose hands are foul with
guiltless blood!"
In that great city of Cologne, 'tis forty years ago to-day,
A babe set up a lusty cry where on its mother's knees it lay.
A man lay on Vienna's dust in blood —'tis eight short days
ago —
To-day his requiem on the Rhine bewails the doom that laid
him low.

Then came the *coup d'état* of November. On the 8th of November, 1848, the King nominated a new ministry, at the

head of which was Count Brandenburg. On the following day the Assembly received from this new ministry an ordinance suspending the sittings and removing the seat of the Assembly to Brandenburg. The Centre and Left parties, 290 members in all, refusing to obey the order, fifteen thousand troops under General Wrangel entered Berlin on the 10th and the meeting place of the National Assembly was occupied by a company of soldiers. On the 12th, Berlin was declared to be in a state of siege; the civic guard was disarmed and disbanded, all clubs were closed, public meetings forbidden and a strict censorship of newspapers and pamphlet distribution instituted.

These events stirred the Rhenish Democrats to quick, bold action. The *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* took the resolution adopted by the radical remnant of the National Assembly on the 15th, its last act, which protested that all taxes levied by the Brandenburg ministry would be illegal, as the cue for its campaign. Day after day the paper appeared with a notice calling upon the citizens to organize and offer armed resistance to all efforts to collect taxes from them. On November 18th the Provincial Committee of the Rhenish Democrats issued a proclamation, which was posted all over the province, reading as follows:

"The Provincial Committee of Rhenish Democrats calls upon all democratic associations of the Rhenish Province to secure the acceptation and execution of the following measures:

"(1) The Prussian National Assembly having itself refused to vote the taxes, all attempts to collect such taxes by force to be resisted in every way.

"(2) The 'Landsturm' (armed men) are everywhere to be organized for resisting the enemy. Those without means are to be supplied with arms and ammunition by the municipalities, or by voluntary contributions.

"(3) The authorities everywhere to be called upon to declare publicly whether they intend to acknowledge and carry out the wishes of the National Assembly.

"In the event of their refusing to do this committees of public safety to be formed, whenever possible, in conjunction with the municipalities. Any municipality opposing the Legislative Assembly to be replaced by a new one duly elected." [1]

For their share in this, Marx and two other members of the Executive were arrested at Cologne, as was Lassalle at Düsseldorf, and tried for inciting to armed resistance to the King's authority. The trial of Marx and his associates took place on the 9th of February, 1849; that of Lassalle three months later. The defence which Marx made at the trial has long been regarded as a masterpiece of legal argument. Before proceeding to its consideration, however, another trial calls for attention.

On the seventh of February, Karl Marx, as editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung;* H. Korff, as manager, and Friedrich Engels, as assistant editor, were placed on trial, charged with having libelled the public prosecutor and some constables, concerning their official actions connected with the arrest of Dr. Gottschalk and Lieutenant Annecke. After the public prosecutor and the solicitor for the prosecution had spoken, Marx made the speech for the defence, in reality an arraignment of the ministry, which afforded great satisfaction to the crowded galleries. He spoke for about an hour, first discussing with great ability the legal aspects of the case. He spoke throughout with calm force, concluding with this remarkable statement:

"Not only does the general situation in Germany, but also the state of affairs in Prussia, impose upon us the duty to watch with the utmost distrust every movement of the government, and publicly to denounce to the people the slightest misdeeds of the system. The present, the Cologne Court, afforded us quite a special inducement to expose it before public opinion as a tool of the counter-revolution. In the month of July alone we had to denounce three illegal arrests. On the first two occasions, the public prosecutor kept quiet, the third time he tried to ex-

[1] Quoted by Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer,* p. 26.

culpate himself, but kept silent when we replied, for the simple reason that nothing could be said. And under these circumstances the ministers dared to affirm that the case was not one of denunciation, but of paltry malicious 'libel'! This view is derived from a misinterpretation of their own. I, for my part, assure you, gentlemen, that I prefer following the great historical events; I prefer analyzing the march of history to fighting events with local idols, with constables and public prosecutors. However great these gentlemen may be in their own imagination, they are as nothing in the gigantic struggles of the present. I consider it a real loss when we have to break a lance with such opponents. But on the other hand, it is the duty of the press to step forward on behalf of the oppressed and their struggles.

"And then, gentlemen, the edifice of slavery has its most effective supports in the subordinate political and social functionaries that immediately deal with private life — the person, the living individual. It is not sufficient to fight the general conditions and the superior powers. The press must make up its mind to oppose *this* constable, *this* attorney, *this* councillor. What has wrecked the March revolution? It reformed only the highest political class, but it left untouched all the supports of this class — the old bureaucracy, the old army, the old courts, the old judges, born, educated, and worn out in the service of absolutism. *The first duty of the press is now to undermine all the supports of the present political state.*"

The defendants were immediately acquitted by the jury, and Marx returned to his desk to forge new thunderbolts and to prepare for the trial of the 9th the speech which was to reveal, alike to his friends and his foes, forensic powers which, had he chosen, might have won him eminence as a great court pleader. Facing what was, under the circumstances, a charge of high treason, he seemed wholly indifferent to that fact, barely condescending to consider its personal side at all. Calmly, without a single artifice of the orator, he dealt with the legal aspect of the charge, analyzing the case for the prosecution with faultless logic, in language that was as concise and simple as he

would have used in lecturing to a class of workingmen. He was not merely addressing a jury in the hope of securing the acquittal of himself and comrades. That was relatively unimportant. He was addressing through that jury the public of Germany, especially its proletariat. Clearly and vigorously, but without a trace of passion, he explained the standpoint from which he viewed the events of the time and ended with a summary of the political situation.

After brief remarks by his codefendants, that jury, wholly composed of members of the bourgeoisie he held in such contempt, quickly and unanimously acquitted the defendants, and actually sent one of their number to Marx to express their thanks for the very interesting and instructive lecture he had given them! Three months later, at Düsseldorf, Lassalle was tried upon a similar charge and also acquitted. Much has been written concerning the great oratorical effort Lassalle made upon that occasion, and of the profound effect his speech produced in court. As a matter of fact, however, it was never delivered at all! Owing to the fact that the speech had been printed before the trial and some proofs of it circulated, the court decided to exclude the public, whereupon Lassalle refused to deliver the speech he had so carefully prepared.

A comparison of the speech of Marx and the undelivered oration of Lassalle shows the argument of the latter to be almost a reproduction of that of the former. Lassalle was following Marx as a disciple. But in manner the two were as opposite as the poles. Concluding with a quotation from Schiller's *William Tell,* Lassalle's address is remarkable for the splendour of its rhetoric and passionate sentiment. To get a proper comparison of the two men we have only to imagine Marx calmly addressing the Cologne jury, thinking only of great principles and ignoring his own interests at stake, and Lassalle repeating the same careful, scholarly argument to the jury at Düsseldorf, passionately declaiming well-polished, sonorously beautiful phrases, superb in his oratorical pride.

As regards Lassalle, the scene is wholly imaginary, but in such a picture we get the most accurate comparison of the two men to whom modern Socialism owes so much.

The triumph of Marx was short-lived. Failing in its attempts to crush him by legal methods — perhaps because even bourgeois juries would not convict, in spite of abundant evidence — the Prussian government adopted summary methods of ridding itself of the ablest and most dangerous of its enemies. In May there was a rising in Dresden led by Bakunin and risings in several places in the Rhine Province, to all of which Marx at once gave his support. He was summarily expelled from Prussia, and the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* suppressed. The last issue of the paper appeared on the 19th of May, printed in red ink, and containing a defiant "Farewell" poem by Freiligrath. One stanza of this poem has been much quoted and is well-known, but the poem as a whole is unfamiliar to English readers of this generation. It is here given in the admirable translation by Ernest Jones:

FAREWELL OF THE "NEW RHENISH GAZETTE"

May, 1849.

No open blow in an open fight,
But with quips and with quirks they arraign me,
By creeping treachery's secret blight
The Western Calmucks have slain me.
The fatal shaft in the dark did fly;
I was struck by an ambushed knave;
And here in the pride of my strength I lie,
Like the corse of a rebel brave!

With a deathless scorn in my dying breath,
In my hand the sword still cherished;
"Rebellion" still for my shout of death,
In my manhood, untainted, I perished.
Oh! gladly, full gladly, the Pruss and the Czar
The grass from my grave would clear;

But Germany sends me, with Hungary far,
Three salvoes to honor my bier.

And the tattered poor man takes his stand,
On my head the cold sods heaving;
He casts them down with a diligent hand,
Where the glory of toil is cleaving.
And a garland of flowers and May he brought
On my burning wounds to cast;
His wife and his daughters the wreath had wrought
When the work of the day was past.

Farewell! farewell! thou turbulent life!
Farewell to ye! armies engaging!
Farewell! cloud canopied fields of strife,
Where the greatness of war is raging!
Farewell! but not forever farewell!
They can *not* kill the spirit, my brother!
In thunder I'll rise on the field where I fell,
More boldly to fight out another.

When the last of crowns like glass shall break,
On the scene our sorrows have haunted,
And the People the last dread " guilty " shall speak,
By your side ye shall find me undaunted.
On Rhine, or on Danube, in word and deed,
You shall witness, true to his vow,
On the wrecks of thrones, in the midst of the freed,
The rebel who greets you now!

Thus closed another chapter in a brave and brilliant career. The fight which he had waged against the Prussian autocracy had involved great risks and still greater sacrifices upon the part of all concerned. Marx and his little family suffered many hardships during that fight against poverty on the one side and despotism on the other. Lessner has told how, when he reached Cologne, in 1848, he was ceremoniously appointed " Master of the Wardrobe " by the facetious Engels, who had learned that he was a tailor by trade. The office imposed upon Lessner the onerous and unprofitable task of keeping the clothes



Ferdinand Freiligrath

of the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* and his lieutenant presentable.

But that was the least serious side of the struggle with poverty. Marx had a wife and three young children to support, and at times they suffered great hardship and privation. The income of the paper was often insufficient to meet all the salaries of its staff, and when that happened, Marx and Engels invariably went without, in order that the other workers might be paid. Hardly anything definite is known of the sacrifices thus made, but one who was intimate with the family in those days told the present writer that he had, by accident, discovered that actual want of food at times was not unknown to them. And though he was not legally responsible, and his expulsion would, in any case, have placed him beyond the reach of creditors, when he was ordered to leave the country, Marx first paid all bills due, including arrears of wages and salaries, in order that the paper might leave behind it no dishonourable memories. To do this, his brave wife pawned her much-prized heavy silver, valuable heirlooms of the Westphalens, inherited from their Argyll ancestors, and sold all their furniture.

When everything had thus been sacrificed there was barely enough money left to take the family to Paris, but Marx had the satisfaction of knowing that "the honour of the paper and the cause" had been saved. In later years, he was often twitted by less scrupulous friends for his extreme punctiliousness in such matters, and "as honest as old Marx" became rather a byword in revolutionary circles.

VIII

"THE MOTHER OF EXILES"

As soon as he was expelled from Prussia, Marx hastened to Paris, going in advance of his family to arrange for their reception. The hardships of this forced and hasty flight were somewhat lessened by the fact that he bore an important message from the Provincial Committee of Rhenish Democrats to the workers of Paris, where a new crisis was preparing. The workers of the French capital were getting ready for a new uprising which might prove of the greatest consequence to the German revolutionary movement. This exile, therefore, meant a fresh opportunity for service and struggle.

Engels did not go to Paris. Instead, he went into the Palatinate of Bavaria to take active part in the rising there. The beautiful Palatine country was being swept by the fires of revolution. The King of Bavaria had refused to recognize the national constitution, and the Pfaelzers, who had no sense of loyalty to Bavaria, to whose rule they had been somewhat arbitrarily assigned after the Napoleonic wars, rose in rebellion. They were all for a "United Germany," and if the King of Bavaria would not be German, then the Palatinate must cease to be Bavarian. Professor Kinkel had become a secretary of the Provisional Government of the Palatinate, while Lieutenant Annecke, whose arrest had been one of the causes leading to the prosecution of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* in February, when Engels was one of the defendants, was chief of artillery. Of course, Carl Schurz was there also, his rank being that of lieutenant. Engels joined a volunteer corps and received a commission, that of adjutant.

In the neighbouring Grand Duchy of Baden the people had

risen, also, and in June the Palatine troops, some eight thousand men, crossed the Rhine into Baden territory and marched toward its capital city, Karlsruhe. Engels fought in three small battles of no great importance, in the three days' fight on the Murg River, June 28th, 29th and 30th, and in the defence of the fortress of Rastatt against the siege. He was one of the last of the conquered army to leave, remaining until all was lost, on the 11th of July, 1849. Then he escaped into Switzerland. He had gone into the fight out of sheer love of excitement, with no illusions concerning it. He knew that there was no earthly chance of success, unless a striking victory by the Republicans of Paris should occur in June. But the rising in Paris on the 13th of June was a dismal failure. After that, the Baden-Palatinate struggle was a bloody farce, as Engels later described it.

Marx reached Paris in May, and as soon as his family was settled he devoted himself to the discharge of the commission with which the Rhenish Democrats had entrusted him. Even his almost imperturbable spirit must have been sorely dismayed by the conditions he found. The revolution for which preparations were being made, and with which his commission had to do, was, he saw only too clearly, foredoomed to sanguinary defeat. As Liebknecht has so well said: "The radical middle class is nothing without the labourers, and the flower of the labourers had been shot in June, 1848, or had fallen a prey to the 'dry guillotine' (i. e., were banished to Cayenne, the French convict colony in Guiana). The '13th of June,' in 1849, only revealed the impotency of the radical middle class."

Marx witnessed the failure of that abortive rising. Its principal hero, Ledru-Rollin, the friend and patron of Jean François Millet, had to flee to London, as Louis Blanc had been forced to do one year previously, also in June. The Prince-President, Louis Bonaparte, was in the saddle, antagonizing all the liberal elements and making a strong allegiance with the Roman Catholic Church, upon the clergy of which he relied for

support. It was not strange, therefore, that Marx should soon find himself compelled to leave Paris. A diary kept by his faithful wife describes what occurred: "We remained in Paris a month. Here, also, there was to be no resting-place for us. One fine morning the familiar figure of the sergeant of police appeared with the announcement that Karl 'et sa dame' must leave Paris within twenty-four hours. We were graciously told we might be interned at Vannes, in the Morbihan. Of course, we could not accept such an exile as that, and I again gathered together my small belongings to seek a safe haven in London. Karl had hastened thither before us."

The reason why the French government offered to permit the family to reside at Vannes, in Brittany, was that it was considered to be "fireproof" against all revolutionary propaganda, and that was, of course, for Marx, a good reason for not going there. Further, the authorities would probably have been very glad to get Marx at Vannes, where he could be kept under close surveillance — and arrested at any convenient moment. So there was nothing to do but to seek the protection of London, that "Mother of Exiles" whose glorious tradition of inviolable asylum brought to her doors so many of the choicest spirits of Europe. Once more Marx hastened on in advance of the family. This was necessary, for within a month another child was expected, and provision had to be made for the family so that the mother would not be too heavily burdened upon her arrival.

It should, perhaps, be noted here that Mrs. Marx was not left alone with her children upon such occasions. With her always went her faithful companion, Helene Demuth, the noble "Lenchen" or "Nymny," of whom we shall hear further. As a girl of eight or nine years of age, Helene had been taken into the Westphalen household, apparently as a sort of nurse to the children. She grew up in the household of the Westphalens and became as one of the family, treating little Jenny and her playmate, Karl, as her own sister and brother. When

her daughter was married — apparently after the young bride had gone to Paris with her husband and was homesick — Mrs. von Westphalen sent her, as the best she could send, "the faithful, dear Lenchen," who remained with the Marx family through many trying years, sharing without a murmur all their trials and hardships, and, at last, their grave. "Lenchen's" devotion and sacrifice is a story of noble and beautiful friendship worthy to be immortalized by some great poet.

Marx arrived in London toward the end of June, 1849, and took furnished lodgings for the family somewhere in Camberwell, the rent being one pound twelve shillings and sixpence per week, an excessive amount, even for furnished apartments in Camberwell. Only the fact that Marx had been able to dispose of some small property which he owned in Trier made it possible for him to pay so much. And that money was soon exhausted, so that they suffered great poverty and were in arrears with the rent. Into this state of poverty came in July the fourth child, a boy, named Henry, cursed from birth by the black monster of poverty and doomed to the early death which is the fate of so many thousands of poor children.

In August, Marx was joined by Engels. After the failure of the Baden-Palatinate insurrection, Engels had gone to Switzerland, where he remained a month, until he knew the plans of Marx. As there was nothing to be done in Switzerland, he decided to join Marx in London. To attempt in those days to reach London by passing through France was dangerous, not a few German fugitives having been illegally seized at Havre and sent on to America. This led him to choose another route. He went first, therefore, to Genoa, and from thence to London in a sailing ship.

Marx and his family lived at the Camberwell house for some months, during which time he strove to obtain work. Unfitted for any manual labour, a German radical, every line of whose work had been of a kind which could not be submitted to prospective employers without destroying any small chance of ob-

taining work that there might be, his position was an exceedingly tragic one. Rare and ill-paid were the little jobs he obtained in those days. He wrote for some of the Chartist journals but probably never received a single penny in payment. If perchance any such articles were ever paid for the occasions must have been rare and the sums paid quite trifling.

In the midst of this struggle with poverty another struggle had developed within the movement and taxed the energies of both Marx and Engels. A friend who knew Marx in those days described him to the present writer as "a man who appeared to be haunted; a big, haggard, hopeless-looking man, who seemed to forget his misery only in the intensity of his struggle within the ranks of the Communists." In order that we may understand the nature of this struggle, it is necessary to obtain a mental picture of the effects upon the working-class movement of the revolution of 1848. And Marx himself has provided such a picture:

"After the defeat of the Revolution in 1848 to 1849, the working-class party on the Continent lost what they had gained during its short epoch — a free press, liberty of speech, and the right of association. The Liberal bourgeois party, as well as the Democratic Party, found in the social conditions of the classes they represented the opportunities to keep together under one form or another, and to assert more or less their common interests. To the working-class party, after 1849, as before 1848, only one way was left open — the way of a secret society. So, after 1849, there developed a whole series of proletarian societies on the Continent, discovered by the police, condemned by the courts, broken up by imprisonment, but always reorganized under pressure of existing conditions. Part of these secret societies had for their object the immediate revolution of the state. This was right in France, where the working class was conquered by the bourgeoisie, and the attack on the actual government immediately coincided with the attack on the governing class. Another part of the secret societies sought the formulation of a party of the working class without caring for the actual governments. This was necessary

in countries like Germany, where the bourgeoisie and the working class together succumbed to the half-feudal governments, and, where, therefore, a victorious attack on the actual government would have brought about a victory for the middle class."

Of necessity, the Communist movement became again largely a secret movement, which Marx abominated above all things. As is always the case in secret, conspiratory movements, all kinds of "shady" characters wormed their way into it, including, of course, spies. Intrigue within intrigue was almost an inevitable accompaniment of the only form of activity open to such a movement under these conditions. Marx and Engels saw with alarm the rapid undoing of the work they had done in 1847. Karl Schapper, the proof reader who saw the *Communist Manifesto* through the press and later worked on the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung;* Lieutenant August von Willich, who in March, 1848, violently entered the Council Chamber at Cologne; Professor Kinkel and, a little later on, the excitable Frenchman, Barthelmy,— these men and others formed one faction, contending for "direct action," for conspiracies and insurrections, a return to the old ways from which Marx and Engels had diverted the movement at the end of 1847.

Against this policy, Marx and Engels, joined early in 1850 by Wilhelm Liebknecht, set themselves. They refused absolutely to attempt to "rekindle the ashes and dross" of the revolutions of February and March. As against the Schapper–Willich–Kinkel faction, with their chimerical notions of a new and successful outbreak in Germany, and their frightfully bombastic manifestoes, the Marx faction stood out bravely for a policy which comprised better organization of the movement, without secrecy; educational propaganda in Germany and elsewhere, and personal study. "Let us organize to educate and agitate, and educate to agitate and organize," they said. For this policy Marx was frequently denounced as a "traitor" and a "tool of the reaction," by Messrs. Willich and Kinkel, the very "tolerant" friends of Carl Schurz.

For a while Marx and his friends seemed to make headway. In pursuance of a plan agreed upon by the Communists in Cologne, Hamburg and other places, the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* was resuscitated, as a monthly review, published from Hamburg, but edited by Marx from London. This review was to be the means of reaching the German working class with an educational propaganda. Owing to the dissension in the London organization and other circumstances not differing in any particular from those commonly attending such ventures, it failed after only six numbers had been published. In his "Farewell" of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung,* Freiligrath had written defiantly,

> "Farewell! but not forever farewell!
> They can *not* kill the spirit, my brother!
> In thunder I'll rise on the field where I fell,
> More boldly to fight out another."

The prophecy had in a manner been fulfilled, but to small purpose. The rising had taken place, to be followed by a fall less glorious than that of May, 1849.

The six issues of the review contained a great deal of valuable matter, much of which has since been republished in the form of brochures. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the whole review was the insistence of Marx and Engels upon the fact that the raising of an immediate revolution was impossible, that only as a result of a long evolutionary process in the industrial world would any social revolution ever be possible. However unpleasant such teaching might be to the romantic radicals, it was necessary; Marx and Engels were bound to destroy the illusions of these gentlemen, and the review suffered accordingly. The money for the review was not always forthcoming, and that, as we shall see, added greatly to the poverty and distress from which Marx and his family suffered so terribly.

Early in the fight within the League, Marx and his sup-

porters made a desperate effort to save the organization, and to confine the fight to London, by getting the headquarters transferred to Cologne, where the faithful and eloquent Lessner was still residing, under the name of "Carstens." This move, it was hoped, would keep the strife confined to the London organization and, at the same time, enable Marx effectually to control the whole movement, through Lessner. The plan succeeded very well for a time, until the trial of the Communists at Cologne, in October, 1852, broke up the campaign.

At that famous trial, of which Marx afterwards wrote such a scathing and convincing exposure, an attempt was made to fasten upon Marx responsibility for plotting a terrible insurrection. A paper, professedly in his handwriting and containing a lot of "rabid nonsense," was presented in evidence, but was at last admitted by the prosecution to be a forgery. The defendants at the trial were Messrs. Lessner, Nothjung, Bürgers, Roser, Otto, Reiff, and Ehrhardt, workingmen, and Drs. Becker, Daniels, Klein and Abraham Jacobi, the last named now one of the most honoured and best beloved men in the medical profession in the United States. Seven of the defendants received prison sentences of from three to six years, the other four, including Dr. Jacobi, being acquitted.

As the charges brought against the accused were mainly supported by evidence supplied by spies well known to the London Communists, and consisting of the most odious charges of alleged plottings in London, the case for the defence had to be prepared almost entirely in London, and evidence of the falseness of the charges secured. And this work, quite naturally, fell entirely upon the shoulders of Marx, still further taxing his energies and increasing the poverty and misery from which he and his family suffered. Engels had, like Marx, found it impossible to make a living by literary work, and was obliged to capitulate to his stern old father and enter the mill at Man-

chester upon terms that were harsh and almost humiliating, and which made it impossible for him to be of much service to his friend, either financially or otherwise.

At the end of September, 1850, Marx had resigned from the Central Committee of the Communist Alliance and, as already observed, secured the transfer of the governing body, the Central Committee, to Cologne. A statement which he insisted upon issuing at that time, as part of its report, is of interest as showing his attitude toward the majority view, represented by Willich, Kinkel, Barthelmy, and others. He wrote:

"The majority has substituted the dogmatic spirit for the critical, the idealistic interpretation of events for the materialistic. Simple will-power, instead of the true relations of things, has become the motive force of revolution. While we say to the working people: 'You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and wars between nations not only to change existing conditions but to change yourselves and make yourselves worthy of political power,' you, on the contrary, say, 'We ought to get power at once, or else give up the fight.' While we draw the attention of the German workman to the undeveloped state of the proletariat in Germany, you flatter the national spirit and the guild prejudices of the German artisans in the grossest manner, a method of procedure without doubt the more popular of the two. Just as the democrats made a sort of fetish of the words 'the people,' so you make one of the word 'proletariat.' Like them you substitute revolutionary phrases for revolutionary evolution." [1]

What a prospect to hold out to those impatient Hotspurs, who, in their "obscure and enthusiastic little societies, embittered as they were by defeat, hot for revenge, and unbalanced by the very absence of the steadying contact of ordinary life," hatched puerile conspiratory plans and indulged in frenzied ebullitions of excitement! Fifty years! and that, not to transform society to their ideal, but to fit themselves for political power! A long series of struggles to gain political power, and

[1] Quoted by Jaurès, *Studies in Socialism,* page 44.

war after war — weakening Russia, freeing Italy from Austria and the Papacy, and uniting Germany — all necessary to the social revolution!

Thus the intrepid and wise thinker, in whom there was no trace of the demagogic spirit, heedless of the calumnies such conduct must inevitably draw upon him, opposed the foolish notions of conspirators who played with social forces as children play with fire. Against their view that, given energy, enthusiasm, courage and faith, a *coup de surprise* might be managed at any time which would give nations into their hands, he stoutly and unflinchingly held up the larger view of what he called "revolutionary evolution," and rebuked the demagogues with all his power.

And this is the man who was denounced throughout the civilized world as a monster, a vile conspirator, though no man ever more consistently opposed subterranean, conspiratory methods than he! This is the man, too, upon whom the Prussian government was so soon to try to fasten the charge of plotting insurrections; the man to be accused later by Professor Karl Vogt of being the head of a terrible secret society, the "Brimstone League," with terroristic aims!

It was for his attitude toward the advocates of "action," whom he contemptuously styled "revolutionary phrase-mongers," that Marx was challenged to a duel by the hot-headed Willich one night at a meeting where the discussion had been long drawn out and exceedingly bitter. Of course, he treated the challenge with contempt and to their cries of "traitor" Willich and Barthelmy added the epithet "coward!" a word the excited Frenchman hissed in a peculiarly venomous fashion. Marx held duelling in great abhorrence and could not be tempted out of his self-control by any such tactics. But one of his friends, a young man named Conrad Schramm, was less prudent. Before Marx could prevent it, he had insulted Willich and forced the latter to challenge *him*. Accordingly it was agreed to fight the duel on the sea coast of Belgium.

The weapons chosen were pistols, and since Willich was a skilled marksman who "never missed the ace of hearts at twenty paces," while Schramm had never even held a pistol previous to the challenge, the "duel" seemed uncommonly like murder to Marx and his friends. The day of the duel passed without tidings of the result, and it was not until the evening of the second day that Willich's second, Barthelmy, entered the Marx home and told the news. Marx was not at home, and Mrs. Marx, who distrusted the Frenchman and disliked him utterly, asked, "What news?" "Schramm has a bullet in his head," he replied in French and then withdrew.

Poor Mrs. Marx was almost distracted with grief, for the generous Schramm was a trusted friend. But the next day, while the little circle of friends gathered in the Marx kitchen were mourning his fate, in walked Schramm himself with bandaged head. He had been struck by a glancing bullet and stunned merely, not killed as Willich and Barthelmy had taken for granted. They had not troubled to learn the truth, but hastened back to England, and Schramm followed by the next boat.

In the winter of 1850–1851 Marx gave a course of lectures on political economy at the club rooms in Great Windmill Street, where, in November, 1847, it will be remembered, he had read the first draft of the *Communist Manifesto*. In this course of lectures he manifested a talent for popularizing a difficult subject which Liebknecht and other friends, who did not know of his success in that line, regarded with astonishment and hailed as a new manifestation of his versatility. The lectures were exceedingly well attended, it is said, and their discontinuance, on account of the bitter strife that was going on, was regarded as a great loss.

Though strongly urged to continue both, Marx abandoned the lectures and the fight, and turned to other tasks. Liebknecht, however, felt it to be his duty to stand by the organization, the only club of its kind in London, and to work for



Wilhelm Liebknecht

harmony. This led to an estrangement from Marx which lasted several months, but was happily ended when Marx's children met their old friend upon the street and insisted upon taking him to their home, where he had formerly been a daily visitor. When the two men met after their long separation, a hearty laugh and handshake restored the old-time good feeling and the topic was never mentioned again by either. At the end of 1852 the Communist Alliance was dissolved, after the Cologne trial. Its work was at an end.

In following Marx's work and the struggle within the Communist Alliance, we have again outrun the calendar and must retrace our steps if we would witness that other tragic struggle, against cruel body-and-soul destroying poverty, which had but opened when we left the little family in the Camberwell lodging to watch the political struggle. We go back, then, to the furnished rooms in Camberwell where we left Mrs. Marx with her fourth child at her breast in the latter part of 1849, with the fear of want ever before her eyes, while her husband vainly sought work. There were many days when bread was the only food to be had, and when Marx denied himself his share of that in order that the children might not go hungry.

In the spring of 1850, when everything was looking as black and hopeless as could well be imagined, a new and terrible blow was struck at the family, a blow which fell upon the noble wife and mother with almost crushing force. Seated trying to nurse her baby at her flattened, half-starved breasts one day, she was roused by a demand for rent due, some five pounds sterling, almost a fortune to her in those days. There had been some arrangement to pay the money to the house-owner direct, instead of to the lessee, of whom they were subtenants. This arrangement the landlady, the lessee, seems to have repudiated. She demanded the five pounds at once and when the money was not forthcoming two constables stepped in and attached everything in the rooms, even to the baby's cradle and the children's

toys! The money seems, from a letter to Weydemeyer, written early in the year following, to have been raised somehow, but next day they had to leave the rooms, and, in order to pay the amounts owing to various tradesmen, almost everything they possessed had to be sold. But the letter of Mrs. Marx to Weydemeyer is such a powerful description of the suffering of those days that it requires no word of comment:

"Almost a year has gone by since I enjoyed the hospitality of your house, where I felt at home and so happy in the company of yourself and your dear wife; and in the whole time I have not given a sign of life. I was silent when your wife sent me that nice letter and even when we received news of the birth of your child. This silence often depressed my mind, but most of the time I was unable to write and it is a hard task even to-day.

"But circumstances force the pen in my hand — I beg you to send us the money received for the *Review* as soon as possible, and the rest as soon as you collect it. We are in sore need of it. Nobody can say of us that we ever made a noise about what we for years have sacrificed and had to endure; very little, or never, have our personal affairs or difficulties been noised abroad.

"My husband is very sensitive in such matters, and he prefers to sacrifice the last, before he allows himself to be used by 'democratic beggary' like the great official men. What, however, he could expect from his friends mainly in Cologne, was an active, energetic stand for his *Review*. This he was entitled to expect from the place where his sacrifices for the *Rhenische Zeitung* were known. Instead of that, the business was totally ruined by careless and unsystematic management, and one does not know whether the dragging along of the publisher or of the manager and friends in Cologne did the most harm.

"My husband was almost crushed by the petty worry of life and in such a horrible form that his whole energy was needed to hold him upright in the daily struggles. You know, dear Mr. Weydemeyer, what sacrifices my husband made for the paper. Thousands of thalers of money he put in.

"To save the political honour of the paper and the civic honour of his friends, he allowed the whole burden to be un-

loaded on his shoulders, all the income he sacrificed, and in the moment of his departure he paid the back salaries of the editors and other bills — and he was expelled by force from the country. You know that we did not keep anything for ourselves; I went to Frankfort to pawn my silverware, the last we had; at Cologne I sold my furniture. My husband went, when the unhappy epoch of the counter revolution set in, to Paris; I followed with my three children. Barely settled in Paris, we were again expelled; myself and my children were also forced to go.

"I followed him across the Channel. A month afterwards our fourth child was born. You know London and its condition well enough to know what it means. Three children and the birth of a fourth! For rent alone we paid 42 thalers a month. We were able to meet all that by our own means, derived from the sale of some property, but our small resources were soon exhausted. In spite of agreements the money did not come from the *Review* except in small amounts, so that we drifted into the most terrible condition.

"I will describe to you only one single day of this life, and you will see that very few fugitives have gone through similar experiences. The keeping of a wet nurse for my baby was out of question, so I resolved to nurse the child myself, in spite of constant terrible pains in the breast and in the back. But the poor little angel drank so much silent worry from me that he was sickly from the first day of his life, lying in pain day and night. He did not sleep a single night more than two or three hours. Then he became subject to cramps and was wavering constantly between death and miserable life. In those pains he drew so hard that my breast got sore and broke open; often the blood streamed into his little wavering mouth.

"So I was sitting one day, when unexpectedly our landlady stepped in, to whom we had paid 250 thalers during the winter and with whom we had a contract to pay after that the rent to the owner of the house. She denied the contract and demanded five pounds, the sum we owed for rent, and because we were unable to pay at once two constables stepped in and attached my small belongings, beds, linen, clothes, all, even the cradle of my poor baby and the toys of the two girls, who stood by crying bitterly.

"In two hours, they threatened, they would take all and

everything away. I was lying there on the bare hard floor with my freezing children and my sore breast.

" Schramm, our friend, hurried to the city to seek help. He stepped into a hack; the horses shied and ran away. He jumped out and they brought him bleeding into the house where I and my poor shaking children were crying and moaning.

" The next day we had to get out of the house. It was cold, raining and gloomy. My husband was out hunting for rooms. Nobody wanted to take us in, when he talked of four children. In the end a friend helped us. I sold my bedding to satisfy the druggist, the baker, the butcher and the milkman, who got scared and all at once presented their bills. The bedding was brought to the sidewalk and was loaded on a cart. We were able, after the selling of everything we possessed, to pay every cent. I moved with my little ones into our present two small rooms in the German Hotel, 1, Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we have found a week's shelter and board for five and one-half pounds.

" Pardon me, my dear friend, for my so lengthy letter, but my heart is streaming this evening, and I must pour out my heart before one of our oldest, best and most earnest friends. Do not believe that these petty sufferings have bent us. I know only too well that we are not the only ones who suffer, and I rejoice that I even belong to the chosen privileged lucky ones, because my dear husband, the support of my life, yet stands at my side. But what strikes me the hardest and causes my heart to bleed is that my husband has to endure so many petty annoyances while he could be helped with so very little and that he, who is willing and with pleasure has helped so many, stands here so helpless and nobody to help him, believe me, dear Mister Weydemeyer, that we do not ask anything from anybody.

" The only thing my husband expected of those who received so many thoughts from him, to whom he was so much a support in every way on the *Review*, is the little they owe him. I don't know why I wrote, dear Mr. Weydemeyer, so much about our situation. My husband only knows that I, in his name, have begged you to hurry the collection and the sending of the money as much as possible.

" Farewell, dear friend. The heartiest regards to your dear wife and kiss your little angel for a mother who drops so many

a tear on her baby. Our three oldest children develop magnificently in spite of all and everything.

"The girls are pretty, blooming and happy and our fat boy is an example of humor and fun.

"The little rascal sings the whole day with a monotonous pathos and a giant voice, and when he sings the words in Freiligrath's *Marseillaise,* with a terrible voice, the whole house trembles. Maybe it is the historic mission of his mouth like his two unlucky predecessors to open the giant fight again in which we all will join hands. Farewell."

In the presence of such suffering and grief we stand speechless and reverent. No words from another pen could add anything to the power of the poor suffering wife's letter, that tortured cry of a bruised soul. Only the light it throws upon the life of her beloved husband, who belongs to the whole world, justifies its publication even now, after the lapse of almost sixty years. And, alas! it must be added that even greater suffering was in store for her.

It was, apparently, at this time that Marx was suspected by a sharp London pawnbroker of being a burglar! Mrs. Marx had received from her parents, as a wedding gift, some valuable antique silver, some three or four hundred years old, heirlooms which Baron von Westphalen had inherited from his aristocratic Scotch ancestors. Marx tried to pawn some of this silver, consisting of a lot of spoons bearing the crest of the Argylls and the family motto: "Truth is my maxim." The pawnbroker was naturally suspicious when such costly and antique spoons were offered as a pledge by the German, and wanted to have Marx arrested on suspicion. It was only with great difficulty, after much explanation, that he escaped arrest. His address was taken, the police were informed and careful investigations made. But Marx never had any difficulty afterwards when other silverware, bearing the same crest, was offered to the same honest pawnbroker.

Of course, they could not afford to remain long in the German Hotel, where the letter to Weydemeyer was written.

Other, cheaper lodgings had to be obtained. These were found at last in Dean Street, Soho, a poor street, mainly occupied by foreign refugees, French, Polish, German and Russian. The Marx family moved into No. 28, Dean Street, apparently in June, 1850, occupying two small rooms on the second floor. As we know, they had sold their furniture at Camberwell to pay their debts, and when they moved into the Dean Street house their furniture was exceedingly scanty. It was a bare, poor home in which Marx was found by many distinguished visitors in those days. And yet, despite that fact, his detractors continually circulated the charge that he was living in luxury while his fellow refugees were starving!

From this place Mrs. Marx wrote to Weydemeyer: "We are living here in entirely different circumstances from those of Germany. We are living in one room with a small adjoining cabinet; six persons, paying more than for a whole house in Germany, and paying our rent weekly. You can imagine in what a predicament that puts one, if even one thaler comes a day later than expected. Our chief anxiety, at the present time, is for our daily bread."

One room served as the sleeping room for the whole family, the other as kitchen, living room and study. Here gathered friends like Liebknecht, Eccarius, Charles Pfander, Freiligrath, Schramm and other German friends. Here, too, came Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin and Barthelmy, the French exiles, Ernest Jones, George Julian Harney, whom he had known since 1847, Robert Owen, and, finally, during the last few months, the "physical force" Chartist, John Frost, the Welsh magistrate who in 1840 had been sentenced with two others to be "hanged by the neck until they were dead — that afterwards their heads should be severed from their bodies, their bodies quartered, and disposed of as Her Majesty should see fit." This monstrous sentence for taking part in an insurrection at Monmouth, in 1839, was never carried out. It was reduced to one of transportation for life and finally, in



John Frost

1856, to complete amnesty. There were many other visitors beside those named. The brave, sensitive couple used all their powers to hide from their friends and visitors the real extent of their misery, not from feelings of shame, but an aversion to appealing to sympathy. A visitor to the Marx home in those days, one of the inner circle, privileged to enter without ceremony, found the devoted lovers, marching up and down the room, hand in hand, singing a German love-song — Goethe's "May Song," with the ecstatic lines:

Und Freud! und Wonne
Aus jeder Brust.
O Erd! O Sonne!
O Glück! O Lust!
O Lieb! O Liebe!
So golden schön,
Wie Morgenwolken
Auf jenen Höhn!

This must have been rather a common exercise for the romantic lovers whose love for each other was never dulled by the bitterness of the struggle. In a letter to the present writer, Madame Lafargue, the only surviving child, writes:

"My mother was a beautiful woman, very tall, with a fine, full figure of which my father was a great admirer. I can remember how, when we were children, he used to walk up and down the room with her, with his arm around her waist."

Equally tender and beautiful is the daughter's memory of her father's love for his children:

"Karl Marx was the kindest, the best of fathers; there was nothing of the disciplinarian in him, nothing authoritative in his manner. He had the rich and generous nature, the warm and sunny disposition, that the young appreciate; he was vehement, but I have never known him to be morose or sullen, and steeped in work and worry as he might be, he was always full of pleasantry with us children, always ready to amuse and be amused by us. He was our comrade and playfellow."

Liebknecht, Lessner and many others have also borne testimony to the passionate love for children which Marx always displayed.

This love for little children dominated the whole life of the man. The suffering of a child always moved him to compassion as nothing else could do. Liebknecht has told how, as he walked through the streets of London, Marx would break away from his companions to fondle strange children and give them pennies, and how impossible it was for him to refuse the appeal of a beggar who was accompanied by a child. Many times he told his friends that in the Christ of the New Testament he admired most his great love and tenderness for little children. Lessner, who reports this, tells us that Marx was often seen upon Hampstead Heath "hustling about with a crowd of school children."

During the worst days of his poverty, while he lived in Dean Street, he was known as "Daddy Marx" to most of the children in the neighbourhood. In those days one might have seen in the streets a handsome man, of striking appearance, rather above the middle height, with small hands and feet and an expressive face framed, as it were, by coal black hair and beard, with children all around him, some holding his hands, others clinging to his coat tails, shouting merrily, "Daddy Marx! Daddy Marx!" This love for children Marx retained to the end of his life, and during the last long illness the presence of one of his little grandchildren seemed to be his only source of comfort and consolation.

Love for children — not merely for his own children, but for all — must have exercised a great influence upon his life. It is scarcely conceivable that he could have borne the fierce struggle against adversity with so much dignity and patience except for the tenderness and sweetness developed by his association with the little ones. Those who found him upon his knees in the Dean Street home, giving the children rides upon his back, and shouting as boisterously as they, knew that it

was as natural and as necessary for him as for the children. And some of them at least knew also that his love for the little ones added to the pain of the struggle, that their suffering was the heaviest burden of his grief.

In 1851 the fifth child was born, a girl, named Francisca. The child was born in the midst of the fight, and the poor mother lamented that for many weeks she could not afford it a cradle — little dreaming that she was soon to grieve at her inability to provide it with a coffin! Then came a little relief. Freiligrath, whose friendship with Longfellow gave him some literary connections in America, recommended him as a desirable contributor to C. A. Dana, who had not yet lost sympathy with Brook Farm ideals, and he became London correspondent of the *New York Tribune,* of which Dana was managing editor. He contributed to the *Tribune* weekly articles, often several columns long, for which he was paid five dollars per article. This was for years his only regular and certain income.

Upon five dollars a week it was barely possible to keep from starvation, but impossible to keep from hard and oppressive poverty. Often his thoughts turned to business as the only means of escape left, but his loving wife restrained him, her love for the cause being equal to his own. Thus it was that any extraordinary expenditure, such as the illness of one of the children, for example, brought unimaginable suffering to the home. So it was when early in 1852, the fourth child, Henry, died. It was the first time that death had visited the humble home, and the blow fell upon the parents the more heavily because they knew that their little one, who had sucked blood from his famished mother's breasts, was literally slain by poverty.

And then, while the shadow of this great grief rested upon them, their hearts received another blow. Not long after the death of the fourth child, they lost the fifth also — little Francisca. One wonders what had become of the "Marx luck"

so proverbial in his boyhood! The mother's diary contains a picture of the suffering and misery of the family at this time, which is almost ghastly in its grim eloquence:

"On Easter of the same year — 1852 — our poor little Francisca died of severe bronchitis. Three days the poor child wrestled with death. She suffered so . . . Her little dead body lay in the small back room; we all of us (i. e., Marx, his wife, Helene Demuth and the three living children) went into the front room, and when night came we made our beds on the floor, the three living children lying by us. And we wept for the little angel resting near us, cold and dead. The death of the dear child came in the time of our bitterest poverty. Our German friends could not help us; Engels, after vainly trying to get literary work in London, had been obliged to go, under very disadvantageous conditions, into his father's firm, as a clerk, in Manchester; Ernest Jones, who often came to see us at this time, and had promised help, could do nothing. . . .

"In the anguish of my heart I went to a French refugee who lived near and who had sometimes visited us. I told him our sore need. At once with the friendliest kindness he gave me two pounds sterling. With that we paid for the little coffin in which the poor child now sleeps peacefully. I had no cradle for her when she was born and even the last small resting place was long denied her. What did we suffer when she was carried away to her last place of rest!"

Here, in the Dean Street house, in the front room, facing the street window, Marx wrote his exposure of the Cologne Communists' trial and prepared the defence; here he made many notes for his *Das Kapital,* wrote part of his *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, The Eighteenth Brumaire,* all the *New York Tribune* articles now reprinted in the volume entitled *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany,* and those comprised in that larger volume, *The Eastern Question.* He wrote almost always with the children running in and out of the room, sometimes while he wrote pretending to be their stubborn horse, receiving their whippings and scoldings with the utmost good nature and patience.

Early in 1852 he wrote *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,* that profound and brilliant monograph in which he exposed the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, which put an end to constitutional government in France and led to the restoration of the empire. The monograph was written for publication in an American monthly called *Die Revolution* and constituted its entire second number, which was also its last. This short-lived journal was published by Marx's old friend, Joseph Weydemeyer, who had come to the United States not long before and at once began to inoculate the followers of Wilhelm Weitling with the doctrines of Marxian Socialism. Weydemeyer, with the financial aid of a German merchant named Meyer, conducted a vigorous campaign in both English and German and infused new life into the movement. Later Weydemeyer served with great distinction in the Civil War, as an engineer under Frémont. He built the fortifications around St. Louis, in which city he died after a long period of service in the municipal administration.

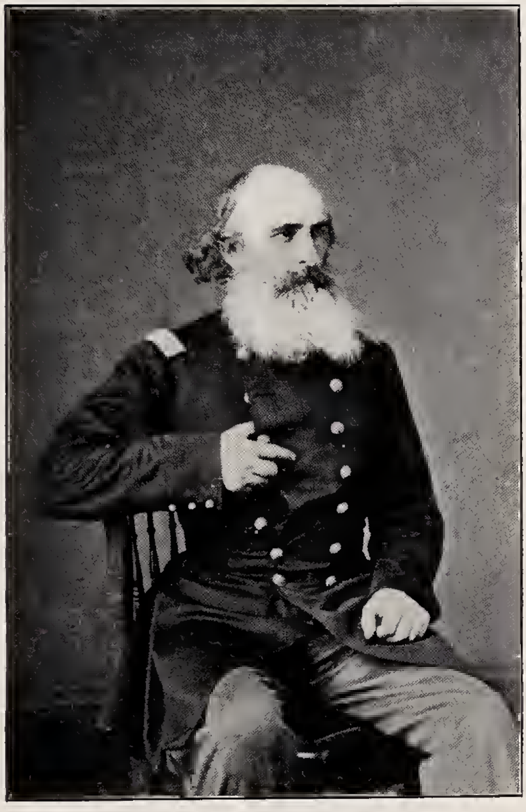
In spite of the misery and privations of this period, Marx absolutely refused to accept a single penny in payment for his lectures to workingmen at the Arbeiter Bildungsverein and elsewhere. The lecture fees usually paid by such bodies were very modest, ranging from five to ten shillings per lecture, and had he accepted such payment for his lectures no one could have accused him of " exploiting the movement " without being made ridiculous by the charge. Professor Kinkel, Willich, and others, regularly took the fees offered, but Marx could not be persuaded to do so. No amount of urging could ever induce him to accept the smallest amount from the funds contributed by members often as poor as himself, no matter how great his distress might be. Quixotic? Perhaps so, but splendid nevertheless. One need not defend his course to appreciate the heroism of his decision to keep himself above the suspicion of " living upon the movement," which had so often weakened the power of working-class leaders.

Marx felt keenly the injustice of the charge, so assiduously circulated by his enemies, that he was living in luxury while his fellow refugees were enduring great hardships. Referring to this subject, he wrote to Weydemeyer, in a letter dated August 2, 1851: "You can imagine that my present situation is very gloomy; if this continues any longer, my wife will surely succumb. The constant cares, the meanness and sordidness of this struggle are breaking her down. To this must be added the infamous tactics of my opponents, who have never so much as attempted to attack my principles, but find gratification for their lack of power to do so by spreading unutterably infamous reports in order to disgrace me before the public. . . . Naturally, I would laugh at the whole filthiness, nor can it possibly hinder me for one moment from my accustomed work. But you will understand that my wife, who is ill and, besides, suffering the daily grinding life of our wretched and sad circumstances, and whose nervous system is already affected, cannot be expected to gain strength when, day after day, these exhalations of democratic miasma are brought to her ears by stupid tale-bearers."

In May, 1851, a great reception was given to the aged patriarch of Utopian Socialism, Robert Owen, in celebration of his eightieth birthday, at which Marx, Liebknecht, Lessner and several other members of the Marx circle attended. Marx was very fond of Owen and generous in his estimate of his character and work. He admired most of all, perhaps, that fine devotion to truth as he understood it, and disregard of popularity, which marked Owen's life. Contempt for popular opinion was one of his own most strongly developed characteristics. He was fond, says Liebknecht, of quoting as his motto the defiant line of Dante, with which he afterwards concluded his preface to *Das Kapital:*

Segui il tuo corso e lascia dir le genti.

After his withdrawal from the Communistiche Arbeiter Bildungsverein, for several years Marx lived a life of comparative



JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER

serenity and freedom from strife, except, of course, the struggle with poverty which was ever present. He loved to play checkers and chess with his fellow exiles at night after days spent in hard study at the British Museum, and found in the games great relaxation. At checkers he was an expert, it is said, but chess he played only fairly well. He was, moreover, a poor loser. When he won his joy was boisterous and unconfined, but when he lost he not infrequently lost his temper also. Then it became necessary for the good "Lenchen" to assert her authority and command the players to cease, and Marx obeyed as if he were a child.

Marx has been frequently described as a man without a sense of humour. Thus in Oswald Yorke's *Secret History of the International,* he is referred to as "a cold, unsmiling, icy man," and his friend, W. Harrison Riley, who was closely associated with him in the International, described him as being "rigidly mathematical" and "without sentiment." On the other hand, Professor E. S. Beesly, who knew him well from 1867 to his death, speaks of him as being "most genial and pleasant."

While he certainly managed to impress a good many casual observers as a taciturn and unemotional man, without humour, the real Marx was a very different sort of a person, as his correspondence shows. Few men could better tell or enjoy a joke, even when it was at his own expense. In his letters he very often indulged in that sly, sardonic humour for which he was famous from his youth, and up to a few years before his death he loved to indulge now and then in boisterous boyish fun. Liebknecht relates how, on one occasion, at a period of their exile which was full of great hardship, Marx, Edgar Bauer and himself, at two o'clock in the morning, found merriment and excitement in smashing a number of street lamps and then successfully outrunning a London policeman and making their escape. This student's prank was a manifestation of a boyish exuberance which was by no means rare in the life of Marx.

On Hampstead Heath he loved to join in uproarious games with his children and friends, and was always the noisiest player of the lot, his comic attempts at donkey-riding providing huge amusement for all onlookers.

These glimpses of the man at play reveal a character vastly different from that of the taciturn, cold, unemotional man that he is so often described as being. That in some moods, to some persons, he was such a person is doubtless true enough. But to those who knew him best, those whom he trusted and loved, he revealed a very different side of his nature. In 1842, in the earliest of his attacks upon the Prussian censor, he had described himself as "a humourist," and a humourist he remained all his life long.

This perhaps is as suitable a place as any in which to refer to the almost Puritanical austerity of his domestic life. No old-time New England Puritan ever guarded the moral atmosphere of his home with greater watchfulness than did Karl Marx. The surest and quickest way to earn his displeasure was to utter vulgar remarks, or to tell stories or jokes of a questionable nature, in the hearing of women or children — especially children. He abhorred the tendency, frequently enough associated with immature radicalism, to decry or ignore the conventional reticence upon certain subjects in ordinary conversation. No ribald song or jest, no "broad" discussion of topics customarily tabooed, was tolerated by this strangely conservative radical, at once revolutionist and Puritan.

IX

DOMESTIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

The three years immediately following the dissolution of the Communist Alliance, which took place at the end of 1852, were, politically, " years of almost idyllic peace " for Marx, as he loved to describe them. They were happily free from controversy and from political agitation and intrigue. Practically all his time was devoted to literary work and study. His articles for the *New York Tribune* involved a great deal of research and study, in addition to which he had begun the great work upon which his fame chiefly rests. A large part of his time was spent in the reading room of the British Museum, where he was for many years a familiar figure. He early made the acquaintance of the late Dr. Richard Garnett, whose assistance was of the utmost value to him.

Hunger was by no means a rare experience for Marx during those years, and he frequently worked at the museum when he was weak from lack of food. His only regular income was the meagre payment for his *Tribune* articles, about a pound sterling a week. Engels had by this time improved his position somewhat, and his purse was always open to aid his friend, but the black shadow of poverty hung continually over the little household. Marx often contemplated giving up his chosen work and going into business, and would probably have done so but for his brave and loyal wife's vigorous protest and her cheery optimism.

Early in December, 1854, a tragic event occurred which caused no little excitement among the radical exiles. Barthelmy, the excitable Frenchman whose acquaintance we made in the last chapter, shot and killed a civilian and a policeman

under circumstances which made his arrest and trial of international importance. At a French " fencing salon," in Rathbone Place, on Oxford Street, where Marx used to indulge in sword and sabre fencing with many of the French habitués of the place, Barthelmy, who was an excellent fencer, was a constant attendant. At a shooting gallery maintained in connection with the *salon* he practised diligently until he became also an expert pistol shot. Barthelmy conceived the idea of killing Napoleon. That there might be no chance of his victim's recovery he planned to shoot him not with a bullet, but with buck shot coated with sulphur. In case that should miscarry, he had arranged to stab him.

Barthelmy set out upon his sanguinary mission well supplied with money and everything else necessary for the undertaking. But he had, after the French fashion, says Liebknecht, a " lady friend " whom he wished to take with him and who, " also after the French fashion," had relations with the police. On the way to take the boat they passed the shop of Barthelmy's employer and he remembered that some wages were due to him. Entering the office for the purpose of collecting this money, he began to quarrel with his late employer, who proceeded to eject him, whereupon the excitable Frenchman, forgetting his mission in his anger, drew his pistol and killed the employer. Attempting to make his escape he was stopped by two policemen, both of whom he shot, killing one and wounding the other.

The fact that he had intended to kill the Emperor Napoleon was not brought out at the trial, which was, nevertheless, one of the most sensational trials that had taken place in many years. Was the defendant guilty of murder or of manslaughter only? The most eminent jurists in England said manslaughter. It was clear that there was no premeditation, without which he could not be guilty of murder. He had shot his employer only when he was attacked, he had acted in self-defence. So, too, in the case of the policeman he killed. There



Robert Owen

was no premeditation. Still, Barthelmy was convicted of murder, on the 4th of January, 1855, and eighteen days later was hanged at Newgate. It is said that the "lady friend" having put the police upon the right trail, the jury was secretly informed of Barthelmy's purpose to kill Napoleon, and that their verdict was the result of that knowledge.

Barthelmy's tragic end was a striking justification of the instinctive dislike and distrust of him which Mrs. Marx had manifested from their very first meeting. It was because Marx was resolutely opposed to all such "action" as that which Barthelmy had planned and so miserably failed to carry out, that the latter denounced him as a "coward" and "traitor." It is said that on more than one occasion he threatened to kill "traitor Marx," and that Mrs. Marx pledged her husband not to fence with him under any circumstances.

On the 16th of January, 1856, the sixth and last child, Eleanor, was born. Her coming was the source of new sorrow and anxiety to the parents, for she was a puny, ill-developed weakling and it seemed almost impossible to believe that she could live. Extraordinary care on the part of the wise mother kept the child alive and she lived to be a woman of great strength, an indefatigable worker in the international Socialist movement. The story of her unhappy union with the brilliant and scholarly but conscienceless Dr. Edward Aveling, and her tragic suicide in 1898, forms one of the most pathetic chapters in Socialist history.

A few months after the birth of little Eleanor death once more entered the home, taking away the third child, Edgar, the only boy, aged nine years. This child, namesake of his uncle, Edgar von Westphalen, the Prussian Minister of State, of whom Marx was very fond, was the pride and hope of his fond parents. Not merely was he the only son, but he displayed remarkable talents, indicating that he had inherited some of his father's intellectual gifts. But the body was too weak and puny to sustain the mind. Ailing from the hour of his birth,

the child might have grown strong had it been possible for his parents to provide the necessary conditions. These lacking, he died a victim to poverty, as the two other children had done four years before.

For many weeks the child lay ill, and the parents knew that there was no hope of his recovery. The strain of those sad sleepless weeks told heavily upon Marx, reducing him almost to a nervous wreck. And although he knew that the child's death was inevitable, yet when it came it brought him no relief. He was frantic and inconsolable in his grief. At the funeral, in the cemetery connected with Whitfield's tabernacle, it was feared that he would jump into the grave as the coffin was lowered into it. It is said that for months after the death of his boy Marx was almost like one in a trance, so completely was his life dominated by grief.

In 1856, too, Mrs. Marx was called to Trier, her old home, to the deathbed of her mother, the Baroness von Westphalen. The old lady seemed to improve after the arrival of her daughter and grandchildren, but the improvement did not last long. Within a few days she died, leaving a small estate to be divided between Mrs. Marx and her brother, Edgar von Westphalen. The share of each was only a few hundred thalers, and with her small legacy, Jenny Marx returned to London with her children, to establish the first comfortable home of her married life.

Toward the end of 1856 Marx once more took an active part in the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein. In January, Lessner, after four and a half years' imprisonment, was released and in May he arrived in London. Finding the club in a very demoralized condition, he set about trying to effect a change. He gathered together many of the old members who had become inactive, and organized a campaign against the "bourgeois" element, led by Professor Kinkel. The Lessner faction succeeding, Kinkel and some of his strongest supporters were expelled, and the club entered upon a new phase. Liebknecht gave lectures and lessons in English, and Marx deliv-

ered a course of lectures on political economy similar to the course delivered in the winter of 1850–1851. Once more the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein became the centre of great activity and enthusiasm, entering upon that period of harmony and prosperity which enabled it to render so much assistance to the International almost a decade later.

Early in 1857 the family moved into a larger and more comfortable house in the suburbs, No. 9, Grafton Terrace. This was made possible only by the legacy Mrs. Marx had received on the death of her mother. Except for this and the aid rendered by Engels the financial condition of the family had not perceptibly improved, but the age of the two oldest children made it impossible to continue at the Dean Street house any longer. But the big comfortable house seemed to indicate increased prosperity, much to the disadvantage of Marx. More impecunious exiles turned to the Marx home for food and shelter, and none was ever denied, no matter how great the sacrifice might be. Then, too, malicious gossip seized upon the sign of apparently increasing prosperity to prove that Marx was "living upon the movement" in relative luxury. The truth is that the struggle with poverty was rather intensified by the imperative necessity of the extra expense, and by the imposition of impecunious visitors, already noted.

Soon after moving into the new house Marx was stricken by his first serious illness. His magnificent, almost iron constitution had at last weakened under the heavy strain to which it had been subjected. For years it had been his habit to work a great deal at night. The days were largely given to study and research, often interrupted by the stream of visitors who sought information or advice from him — fellow revolutionists with plans to discuss and newspaper men seeking interviews. The editor of the *Times,* for instance, quite frequently sent a confidential man to get his opinion. The result was that more and more he found himself forced to work far into the night. Returning at midnight from some

meeting, he would write until dawn and then content himself with two, or at most three, hours' sleep.

This had gone on for years, and combined with the worry occasioned by his poverty, lack of proper nourishment and excessive indulgence in the cheapest and vilest tobacco and cigars, ruined his health so that he was never again the same man. Liver trouble and other functional disorders developed, and when under wise medical treatment he recovered, he soon lapsed into the old ways until a new crisis compelled him to adopt a more rational régime. Although he recovered sufficiently to work for another twenty-five years, he was never again really well or strong.

Despite these troubles, Marx found time to write anti-Russian articles for circulation by the Urquhartite committees, including a series upon the diplomatic history of the 18th century, which threw a good deal of light upon Anglo-Russian politics. Marx gladly co-operated with David Urquhart and his followers in their anti-Russian campaign, for he regarded Russia as the leading reactionary power in the world, and never lost an opportunity of expressing his hatred for it. In David Urquhart he found a kindred soul, to whom he became greatly attached. Urquhart had been in the diplomatic service, having served in the British Embassy at Constantinople, and still, in the fifties, maintained intimate relations with many diplomats and statesmen. In addition to being perhaps the greatest living authority upon the political situation in the Orient, he was a man of remarkable learning and rare intellectual gifts.

His *bête noir* was Russia and he enjoyed nothing so much as to trace Russian diplomacy through all its tortuous ways and expose to the British public its duplicity and knavery. Lord Palmerston he hated with an intense and implacable hatred. Notwithstanding the great "Pam's" reputation as a despot-hater and a firebrand, Urquhart denounced him as the conscious tool of Russian absolutism. The influence which Urquhart obtained over Marx was remarkable. Marx prob-



Dean Street, Where He Made His Preparatory Notes for "Capital"



Grafton Terrace, Where He Lived for Several Years, up to 1872-73



Maitland Park Road, Where He Died

Karl Marx's London Residences

ably never relied so much upon the judgment of another man as he did upon that of Urquhart. Nor was Marx the only German of note who acknowledged Urquhart's leadership. Lothar Bucher, later the friend and literary executor of Lassalle and the Adlatus of Bismarck, was another ardent disciple. How completely Marx adopted the Urquhartite creed may be gathered from his merciless criticism of Palmerston in the series of articles published in pamphlet form, *The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston,* in which he vigorously assails the "charlatan" and dispels the popular illusion that Palmerston was an enemy of Russia.

During the years 1857–1858 the Freethought movement, under the leadership of Charles Bradlaugh, developed great strength in London, where it had lagged since the late forties. Bradlaugh gave a regular course of Sunday afternoon lectures, not always directed against current theology, but often against political and social evils and abuses. Mrs. Marx was a regular attendant at these lectures, always taking the two eldest children, Jenny and Laura, with her. Marx went also on several occasions, but he had very little respect for the "professional atheist," and regarded the "Bishop of Atheism," as he called Bradlaugh, with a good deal of aversion and suspicion. Mrs. Marx, on the other hand, regarded Bradlaugh with great favour. She believed that he would become a tower of strength to the working-class movement. But Marx, who entertained the profoundest respect for his wife's judgment in such matters, smiled at her enthusiasm and predicted that he would become a typical bourgeois Liberal, a prediction which was amply fulfilled. Later on, Marx fought desperately to keep Bradlaugh out of the "International Workingmen's Association."

During 1858 Marx finished his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* upon which he had been engaged for nearly eight years in the intervals of his journalistic and political activities. The manuscript of this work, faithfully

copied by Mrs. Marx, reached Duncker, the German publisher, in December, 1858, but the book did not appear until July or August of the following year. Marx chafed at the delay in publication and vowed that Herr Duncker should never publish another of his books.

The same year, 1859, saw the publication of Darwin's epoch-making work, *The Origin of Species,* and Marx regarded it as a fortunate coincidence that his own book appeared in the same year as that of Darwin. He recognised at once the importance and merit of Darwin's work, and at once brought it to the attention of his fellow radicals at their meetings. Liebknecht has told us how for months the Marx circle spoke of nothing except the value of Darwin's work. With great frankness Marx likened his own work in the sociological field to that of Darwin in the biological field, and he was always manifestly pleased when others made the comparison. Once, in the late sixties, when it had become a commonplace in Marxian circles, W. Harrison Riley, editor of the *International Herald,* made the now familiar comparison and Marx replied: "Nothing ever gives me greater pleasure than to have my name thus linked onto Darwin's. His wonderful work makes my own absolutely impregnable. Darwin may not know it, but he belongs to the Social Revolution."

Among the activities of 1859 his contributions to the pages of a Communistic paper, *Das Volk,* deserve to be chronicled. Early in the year, Professor Kinkel had started a weekly German paper, an exponent of middle-class radicalism, in which he attacked Marx and his followers. The members of the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein decided to start an opposition paper and requested the support of Marx and Engels. The first number of *Das Volk* appeared on the 7th of May, 1859, and only sixteen numbers appeared altogether. Marx and Engels contributed some remarkable articles on the Austro-Italian war, Engels discussing the war itself and Marx the policy of Prussia in relation thereto.

Meantime, in the years 1858–1859, Marx was drawn once more into the political struggle, and into the bitterest personal controversy of his life, a controversy which cost him many months of arduous labour. That was the year of the Franco-Sardinian struggle against Austria for Italian independence. In the autumn of 1858 the Sardinian statesman, Camillo Benso di Cavour, and Napoleon III of France — *le petit Napoléon* — met at Plombières and arranged a secret treaty providing for an alliance of Napoleon with the King of Sardinia for the freeing of Lombardy from the oppressive yoke of Austrian rule, and the overthrow of Austrian supremacy throughout central Italy. This, in Cavour's mind, was to be only a step toward the realization of his cherished dream of a United Italy. In pursuance of this pact, French troops, under the command of the Emperor, entered northern Italy.

With the desire of the Italians to be freed from the Austrian yoke Marx, like all liberal and radical thinkers, was in full sympathy, but that did not imply approval of the war. Austria at this time belonged to the German Confederation, and the question at once arose as to what should be the attitude of the rest of the Confederate states. Was it their duty to support their sister state, Austria, alike as a matter of loyalty and solidarity, and especially against France, or should they remain neutral? Both views were urged with a great deal of force of argument.

In order that we may understand the controversy which arose, and the position taken by Marx, it is necessary to bear in mind a few basic facts. From an Italian point of view the war was one of emancipation from the rule of an oppressive and reactionary despotism, and that emancipation once achieved, the unification of Italy would be brought nearer. Yet there were Italian patriots far-seeing and courageous enough to oppose the union with Napoleon III. For instance, Mazzini, whose name must always be associated with the names of Cavour and Garibaldi in the history of the struggle for Italian

unity, denounced at the end of 1858 the secret treaty of Plombières as a dynastic intrigue in which the interests of Italy were sacrificed to the imperialistic ambitions of Napoleon. For it was commonly rumoured at the time that Napoleon had driven a hard bargain with the King of Sardinia, according to which his support was to be paid for in territory, and that the progress of the unification of Italy was to be regulated by Napoleon and made subordinate to his plans. How correct these rumours were was shown by the terms of peace arranged by Napoleon with the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, at Villa Franca, without consulting his ally. Instead of "Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic," which had been Napoleon's war-cry, Venice was left to the mercy of Austria and Napoleon took Savoy and Nice as his reward. Garibaldi then heaped reproaches upon Cavour, declaring, "That man has made me a foreigner in my own house."

It was known, then, even before the war began, that Napoleon hoped through the war upon Austria, in the name of Italian freedom, to extend the authority of France in European politics. It was also well understood that Napoleon was in collusion with the Tsar of Russia; that the war would assist Russian intrigues in the southeast of Europe. Many German Liberals, like Lothar Bucher, for example, held that the freeing of Italy was only a pretext for the war, that the real object was the weakening of Germany and an extension of the twin evils of Bonapartism and Russian barbarism. Therefore, they would have Prussia, as a member of the Confederacy, stand by Austria, and although the Italian cause was just and merited sympathy, yet if the Italians fought under an alliance with Napoleon they must bear the fortunes of war and be treated as his confederates. On the other hand, a large part of the German middle class was enthusiastic in its praise and support of Louis Napoleon. The French Emperor knew that if the other states of the German Empire, especially Prussia, should go to the assistance of Austria, it would prove a very serious

matter and possibly involve the defeat of himself and his ally. So, through his agents and emissaries, he carried on a tremendous campaign in Prussia in favour of complete neutrality. The supporters of Napoleon stoutly contended that the German people could have no interest in upholding Austrian despotism in Italy, and, further, that Austria was the most reactionary state in Europe, whose defeat would mean an advance of the cause of freedom throughout Europe.

To this Austrian writers replied that the success of the Napoleonic plans in Italy would endanger Germany. The next step in the Bonapartist campaign would be an attack upon the Rhine. All who desired to protect the left bank of the Rhine from French assault must support Austria's military supremacy in Northern Italy. They appealed to German patriotism, with the shrewdly conceived cry that the defence of the Rhine must be conducted on the Po.

There were many Germans, including not a few radicals, who were as much opposed to Austria as Napoleon III and his emissaries could desire, but for entirely different reasons. So far as the French Emperor's plans were concerned their attitude was one of indifference, but they believed that they could turn the strife between Austria and France into an occasion of advantage for Prussia and the cause of German unity under Prussian leadership. Their programme included the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, the furtherance of the unification of Germany and the creation of a "Greater Prussia." France was to be allowed to wage war against Austria without interference and the "defence of the Rhine" to wait until it was attacked. This view, which of course quite suited the Bonapartist interests, was held by no less a person than Ferdinand Lassalle, who expounded it with great energy and ability in a pamphlet entitled *The Italian War and the Mission of Prussia.* He wanted the annihilation of Austria, and to that end, quite as much as for the sake of Italian freedom, urged that so long as Napoleon played the part of libera-

tor, Germany should give him a free hand in Italy. Almost exactly the same views were urged by another German radical, Professor Karl Vogt, the naturalist.

Of course, Marx took an opposite view. His hatred and contempt for Napoleon III he had expressed seven years before in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,* and it was not at all likely that he would be deceived by the Emperor's pretended concern for Italy's freedom. If Napoleon wanted to pose as the champion of Italian independence let him begin by restoring Corsica to Italy! To his distrust of Napoleon III add his bitter hatred of Russia and it will at once be apparent that Marx could not do other than oppose the war upon Austria, though from no love for Austria or concern for her dominion over Italy. Moreover, Marx was an ardent advocate of the unification of Germany, and he believed that the war upon Austria was a Franco-Russian intrigue designed to weaken Germany and the revolutionary movement in France.

With full Urquhartite fervour he wrote to Ernest Jones's paper, *The People's Press,* opposing the war and ridiculing those democrats who favoured it, especially men like Lassalle and Vogt. This led to controversy with Lassalle, who defended his view in a number of lengthy letters, but finally conceded much that Marx contended. That the relations of the two men were somewhat strained by the controversy is, however, quite certain. Vogt, on the other hand, rushed into print with a bitter personal attack upon Marx, making charges of the gravest possible character against "the Dictator of the Proletariat." Marx was denounced as a calumniator, a man utterly without honour, and as the chief ogre of a fiendish Brimstone League, devoted to the most revolting form of conspiracy.

Marx was not the man to let such an attack go unanswered. Vogt's pamphlet was to him as the smell of gunpowder to an old war-horse. He immediately set about preparing a reply. With characteristic energy and patience, he ransacked libraries and conducted a widespread correspondence until he had ac-

cumulated a mass of incontrovertible evidence with which to overwhelm his detractor. It took him several months to complete this reply, which took the form of a book of nearly two hundred pages, called *Herr Vogt,* and published at the end of 1860.

As soon as the book appeared it was apparent, even to Vogt's best friends, that Marx had dealt his antagonist a crushing blow. Quickly passing from a defensive to an aggressive attitude, Marx exposed Vogt in the most merciless manner. He presented a convincing mass of evidence tending to discredit Vogt and denounced him as a paid Bonapartist agent. Eleven years later, when the Tuileries gave up their secrets, and the Republican Government published the accounts of the Napoleonic secret service funds, under the letter "V" appeared the significant item: "Vogt, received August, 1859, 40,000 francs."

Whether there was anything dishonourable in Vogt's service to the Bonapartist clique is a question of little interest now. It is sufficient to know that Marx's book completely discredited Vogt and put an end to his charges once and for all. It is, perhaps, worth while observing that the association of the German revolutionist of 1848 with the fortunes of the French Emperor was not quite so unnatural as it might at first sight appear to be. Louis Napoleon had in his younger days professed radical sentiments. Early in the thirties he had written a pamphlet outlining a liberal constitution for France, and in the forties, while confined in prison, he had written and published a book entitled *The Extinction of Pauperism,* advocating the colonization of waste lands, and the formation of Socialistic communities. And both as President and as Emperor he gathered a number of former revolutionists into his service. Meantime, before Marx had completed his reply to Vogt, the most odious of the latter's charges had been reproduced by the Berlin *National Zeitung.* Under cover of the pretext of reviewing Vogt's pamphlet, the editor of the *National Zeitung*

had accused Marx of the most dishonourable conduct. Marx at once conceived the idea of suing the editor, Herr Zabel, for libel and consulted Lassalle about it. Lassalle strongly advised him not to bring the action, partly on legal grounds, and partly because it was idle to expect justice in such a case from the Prussian courts. Against this advice, Marx sued Herr Zabel for libel, but found it impossible to bring the case to trial. In three different preliminary courts he was nonsuited, the justices all holding that if Zabel repeated Vogt's statements, even though they were calumnies of the worst kind, he could not possibly have intended to insult Marx, and therefore no action could be brought!

This treatment at the hands of Prussian justice made Marx furious, and he wrote to Lassalle saying that he had supposed such an outrageous travesty of justice to be impossible. To this Lassalle replied rather satirically:

> "Dear fellow, how I wronged you once lately when in one of my letters I said you saw things in too dark colors! Prussian justice, at any rate, you seem to have regarded in far too rosy a light! But I've had to endure far other things than you from this crew; could bring far stronger proof for what you say, have experienced worse cases altogether at their hands, and that three times three dozen times, and in criminal, and more especially in purely civil cases. . . . Uff! I must drive away the remembrance of all this. For when I think of this daily judicial murder of ten long years that I passed through, then waves of blood seem to tremble before my eyes, and it seems to me as if a sea of blood would choke me. . . . But never do my lips curl with so deep a smile of contempt as when I hear our judges and justice spoken of. Galley-slaves seem to me very honourable persons compared with our judges."

This bitter, contemptuous attack upon the Prussian courts by Lassalle, and Marx's misplaced confidence in their integrity and his subsequent disappointment, form a rather striking contrast to the popular notion of the characteristics of the two men.



Ferdinand Lassalle

According to this notion, Lassalle was first of all a patriot and only secondly a social revolutionist, while Marx was first and last a revolutionist without a fatherland. Lassalle is painted as a nationalist in politics, always dominated by a strong love for Germany, while Marx is painted as an internationalist, caring nothing for Germany, but only for the Universal Republic and the Revolution. As a matter of fact, Marx was a good deal more of a German patriot than Lassalle, as their respective attitudes upon the Italian war clearly showed. In the correspondence of the two men, published by Bernstein in his biography of Lassalle,[1] Lassalle's attitude is as "treasonable" as that of Marx is "patriotic."

Misfortunes poured in upon the unhappy household during the year 1860. In addition to the disappointment of Marx and his wife over the failure of the lawsuit against Herr Zabel, which had cost them a great deal of money and forced them into debt more deeply than ever, a series of other troubles engulfed them. Both were worried by the bitter and unjust attacks of Vogt and his friends in the press of Germany and America. The injury was all the greater on account of the fact that Marx could not get the papers to publish his denial and refutation of these charges. After spending months upon the task, he found that he could only get *Herr Vogt* printed at his own expense, adding still further to his burden of debt. And when the book appeared it was ignored by the newspapers which had attacked him, and which, in many instances, continued to do so.

Worse than all, both Marx and his wife became dangerously ill, the doctors' bills added to the already too heavy burden of poverty and debt. Mrs. Marx had barely finished copying the manuscript of *Herr Vogt,* and sent it to the printer, when she was suddenly stricken with smallpox, at that time very prevalent in London. The three children were at once taken to the home of Liebknecht, who lived in the same neighbour-

[1] *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer,* by Eduard Bernstein.

hood, and Marx, with the assistance of the devoted Lenchen, nursed his wife, night and day, for more than a month, scarcely sleeping at all during that time. In the picture of the Grafton Terrace house the little balcony is shown from which, during her convalescence, Mrs. Marx used to greet her children in the street below.

To meet the needs of this trying period, Marx was forced to the expedient of borrowing small sums of money at an exorbitant rate of interest, often as much as thirty, or even fifty, per cent. The result of this was, naturally, to increase both his poverty and his worry at the same time. His wife had hardly recovered sufficiently to be able to leave her bed when he was stricken by an illness which almost cost his life. The chronic liver trouble took an acute form, and for many days his life hung in the balance. After four weeks he rose from his bed, greatly enfeebled, to renew his old fight against poverty and debt. It was well toward the end of January, 1861, when he returned to his desk.

X

"DAS KAPITAL"

ORIGINALLY, Marx had intended the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* to be the first part of his great work on political economy. When he published it in 1859 he regarded it as the first volume of an elaborate work planned to cover the whole ground of political economy, and at once began upon the second volume. He soon found, however, that his materials made some rearrangement of his plans necessary. Furthermore, the "Critique" had proved rather unpopular, owing, as Marx believed, to the abstract and analytical style in which it was written. Gradually, therefore, there shaped itself in his mind the plan of beginning his task all over again, and he began work upon *Das Kapital,* in which a good deal of the former work was to be incorporated. The months spent, in 1860, in preparing and writing his reply to Karl Vogt, and the struggle against sickness, poverty and debt, combined to hinder his progress, and might well have discouraged any man.

During 1860 and 1861, Ferdinand Lassalle chafed under the urge of a passionate desire to play a leading part in the politics of Germany. It was part of his plan to publish a big daily newspaper, and to associate Marx and Engels with himself in the enterprise. Early in 1860 he wrote asking Marx whether, in the event of the death of King Frederick William IV, he and Engels would return to Germany and join with him in the publication of such a newspaper in Berlin. Throughout the year he kept returning to this subject in his letters, pressing Marx and Engels for a definite promise, and asking their advice upon various matters, such as the amount of capital required. He seems to have thought 10,000 thalers sufficient

capital for the undertaking. The project evidently filled his thoughts and he wrote, "I like thinking of this *Château en Espagne!*" In January, 1861, when the accession of the new King of Prussia had led to the general amnesty which Lassalle had anticipated, he wrote pressing for an immediate and definite answer: "*Once more I ask you* (1) how much capital *must* we have to start a paper here? (2) Who of the former editors of the *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* would eventually come back here for this purpose?"

Now, although it meant removal from the British Museum, upon which he depended for "the bricks and mortar" for *Das Kapital,* and might mean the abandonment of his cherished plan, Marx was not wholly averse to settling in Berlin and joining in Lassalle's project. The plan had many attractive features. In the first place, he was a German of the Germans and exile chafed him, though he bore it without complaining. To settle in Berlin and be reunited to his friends was attractive. Secondly, the idea of wielding great influence through the editorship of a powerful Berlin newspaper appealed favourably to him, and, finally, it meant release from the terrible poverty by which he was still beset. Accordingly he arranged to visit Lassalle at Berlin for the purpose of discussing the matter.

First, however, came a visit to an uncle in Holland. So desperate had his situation become that Marx was forced to sacrifice his pride and seek financial assistance from this uncle. Although the result of this expedition was less satisfactory than he had hoped, it was not altogether without result. The uncle came to his assistance to the extent of advancing money for his immediate needs. A letter from Mrs. Marx to Mrs. Weydemeyer, written while Marx was in Holland, is of interest, not only because of the light it throws upon this particular episode, but because of the graphic picture it gives of the struggle of the five years preceding it. The date of the letter is March 11, 1861:

"My dear Mrs. Weydemeyer:

"In answer to your kind letter, which I received this morning, and in order to show you how delighted I was to receive it, I will write you a detailed letter at once, for now I see from your writing that you would like to hear from us, and that you have still preserved the same feelings of friendship as we have done.

"For how would it be possible for such old and tried comrades and friends, to whom Fate has given the same sufferings, the same pleasures, the same happy and sad days, ever to become strangers, though time and the ocean intervene? And so I extend my hand to you, as to a brave, true companion in adversity, a fellow struggler and sufferer. Yes, indeed, my dear Mrs. Weydemeyer, our hearts have often been filled with sorrow and gloom, and I can well imagine what you have had to contend with again lately! I fully realise all you have to contend with, the cares and deprivations, for have I not often suffered the same! But suffering hardships and love gives strength.

"The first years of our life here were bitter ones, but I will not dwell on those sad memories to-day, on the losses we suffered, nor the dear, sweet departed children, whose pictures are engraved in our hearts with such deep sorrow.

"I will write of a newer period of our life rather, which, despite much sadness, has nevertheless, brought us many bright gleams of happiness.

"In 1856 I travelled to Trier with my three remaining daughters. My dear mother was overjoyed at our arrival, but, unfortunately, the joy was doomed to be of short duration. The most faithful, the best of mothers became ill and, after suffering for eleven days, closed her dear, tired eyes, her last glance resting fondly upon the children and me. Your dear husband, who knew what a loving mother she was, can best estimate my grief. We laid the dearly beloved body in its last resting place, and left Trier, after having settled the little legacy of my dear mother, dividing this equally between my brother Edgar and myself.

"Up to this time we had lived, in London, in two miserable rooms. We were now enabled, by means of the few hundred thalers my dear mother had left me, despite all the sacrifices she had made for us, to furnish a little house for ourselves, not

far from the beautiful Hampstead Heath, and which we are still occupying. (As the translator of the 'Woman in White,' you will probably recall this name.)

"It is, truly, a princely dwelling, compared with our former narrow holes, and although the furnishing of the whole house cost us but forty pounds ('second hand rubbish' playing the leading rôle) we felt quite 'high-toned,' possessing, as we did, a parlour. All the linen and other remnants of former greatness were now redeemed from the hands of the 'Uncle,' and it was a great joy to me to be able to count my damask napkins of old Scotch origin once more. This grandeur, however, was of short duration, for soon afterward, one piece after the other had to wander back to the 'Pop-House' (as the children call the mysterious Three Balls shop). Yet it gave us great pleasure to live once more in comparative comfort and ease.

"Then the first American crisis came and our income was cut in half. Our living expenses had to be screwed down once more, and we even had to incur debts. These had to be incurred in order to be able to continue the education of our girls further as begun.

"And now I come to the brightest part of our life, from which the only light and happiness was shed on our existence — our dear children. I feel certain that your husband, who was so fond of the girls when they were children, would be more heartily pleased with them now since they have grown into tall and blooming young women.

"Although I must fear that you will take me for a rather conceited and weak mother, I will give you a description of these dear praiseworthy girls. They are both exceptionally good-hearted, of generous dispositions, of truly amiable modesty and girlish purity. Jenny will be seventeen years of age on the first of May. She is a most charming girl, making quite a handsome appearance with her dark, shining, black hair and equally dark, shining, soft eyes and her brunette creole complexion with its acquired healthy English tints. The pleasant, good-natured expression of her round, childlike face makes one forget that she has a stub nose, which is perhaps not beautiful in itself, and it is a real pleasure when she speaks, to observe the friendly mouth with its fine teeth.

"Laura, who was fifteen years old last September, is perhaps prettier and of more regular features than her older sister,

whose direct opposite she is. Although she is just as tall as Jenny, as slender and delicately formed, there is something lighter, brighter and more lucid about her. The upper part of her face may well be called beautiful, with its waves of curly hair of chestnut brown, her sweet, dear eyes of changeable greenish lights that burn like triumphal fires, and her finely formed and noble forehead. The lower part of her face is less regular, being less developed. Both girls possess rosy, blooming complexions, and I often marvel at their lack of vanity, for I remember very well that the same could not have been said of their mother at a certain tender age!

"At school they have always carried off the first prizes. They are perfectly at home in English and are quite advanced in French. They are able to read Dante in Italian and also know a little Spanish; the German language seems to give them the greatest trouble; although I take every means in my power to prevail on them to take a German lesson now and then, my wishes do not always find obedience, so you see that respect for me and my authority are not very great. Jenny's special talent is for drawing, and the best ornaments in our home are her crayon drawings. Laura was so negligent about drawing that we had to deprive her of this instruction, as a punishment. She delights in practising on the piano, however, and sings charming English and German duets with her sister. Unfortunately, they commenced taking their musical instruction rather late, having begun only a year and a half ago. It had been impossible for us to raise the money for these expenses, for we had no piano. The one which we have now is only a hired one, and is old and dilapidated.

"The girls are a constant pleasure to us, owing to their affectionate and unselfish dispositions. Their little sister, however, is the idol of the whole house.

"This child was born at the time our poor, dear Edgar departed from life, and all our love for the little brother, all the tenderness for him, were now showered on the little sister, whom the older girls cherish with motherly solicitude. But you could scarcely find a lovelier child, so pretty, naïve and full of droll humour is she. Her charming manner of speaking and relating stories is truly remarkable. This she learned from the Grimm Brothers, who are her companions by day and night. We all have read the fairy tales until we are almost blind, but

woe to us if we were to forget one syllable of Rumpelstilzkin or Schneewittchen! By means of fairy stories she has been able to learn the German language, which she speaks correctly, besides the English language, which of course lies in the air. This little one is Karl's favourite pet, laughing and chatting away many of his troubles.

"I am happy in still having our dear, loyal, conscientious Lenchen to assist me in housekeeping; ask your dear husband about her, he will affirm what a treasure she is to us. For sixteen years she has faithfully stood by us through storm and adversity.

"Last year we had to suffer great annoyance from the infamous and vile attacks made by the whole German, American, etc., press. You have no idea how many sleepless nights and how much worry it all cost us. Our lawsuit against the *National Zeitung* cost us a large sum of money and when Karl had his book ready, he could find no publisher who would accept it. He finally had to have it published at his own expense (paying 25 pounds) and now, after its appearance, the cowardly, corrupt press is trying to kill it by silence. I am delighted that you are pleased with the book. Your opinion is almost literally identical with that of all our other friends. Through the very intentional disregard of the book by the press, it could not reach the splendid sale which we had every right to expect.

"Meanwhile, the high approbation of all those of roremost intellectual standing must satisfy us. Our adversaries and enemies even have had to acknowledge its high value. Bucher described it as a compendium of the history of ages, and Lassalle writes that the enjoyment afforded him and his friends by this work of art was indescribable, and that their rejoicing and delight at so much wit was limitless. Engels considers this to be Karl's best book, as does 'Lupus.' Congratulations arrive from all sides, even our old enemy, Ruge, calls it a good farce. I am curious to see if America will observe the same silence. This would be actually revolting, after having given space to all those worthless lies and calumnies. Perhaps your dear husband could give some assistance in spreading its circulation.

"I had scarcely finished copying the manuscript, when I suddenly fell ill. A most terrible fever attacked me and we had to send for a doctor. On the 20th of November he came,

examined me carefully, and after keeping silent a long time broke out into the words: "My dear Mrs. Marx, I am sorry to say you have got the smallpox — the children must leave the house immediately." You can imagine the distress and grief of the entire household at this verdict. What was to be done? The Liebknechts fearlessly offered to shelter the girls in their home, and by noon they had entered into exile, carrying their few belongings with them.

"I kept growing worse, hour after hour, the smallpox breaking out in the worst form. I suffered very, very much. Awful, burning pains in my face, complete sleeplessness, in deadly fear for Karl, who nursed me with the greatest tenderness, finally the loss of all senses save the inner sense of consciousness, which remained clear. I lay abed by the open window, so that the cold November air blew in upon me. At the same time there was a red hot fire in the stove; ice was placed upon my burning lips, and from time to time Bordeaux wine was infused in small quantities. I could hardly swallow, my hearing kept growing weaker, at last the eyes closed completely — who could tell if I should ever be able to see the light of day again!

"But my constitution was victorious, the tenderest, most faithful nursing assisted — and so I am sitting here again in complete health, but with disfigured face, marked by scars and a dark red coloring — quite *à la hauteur de la mode couleur de Magenta!* Christmas eve came and for the first time since my illness the poor children were allowed to return to their sadly missed home. This first meeting was indescribably pathetic. The girls were deeply affected and could hardly repress their tears when they saw me. But five weeks previous I had made quite an acceptable appearance beside my blooming daughters. Due to the surprising fact that I still had no gray hair and possessed good teeth and figure, I belonged to the class of well-preserved woman — but now all this was gone! I felt as though I were a hippopotamus, belonging, rather to the Zoölogical Garden than to the Caucasian race. But do not let me frighten you too much! My appearance has improved quite a little, and the scars are beginning to heal.

"I had scarcely recovered sufficiently to be able to leave my bed, when my dearly beloved Karl took sick. Excessive fear, anxiety and vexations of every sort and description threw him

upon his sick bed. For the first time, his chronic liver trouble had become acute. But, thank heavens, he recovered after an illness of four weeks. In the meantime, the *Tribune* had placed us at half-pay again and, instead of getting some receipts from the book, we were obliged to meet a note. Added to this was the enormous expense of the most terrible of sicknesses. In short, you now have an idea how we fared last winter.

"As a result of all these affairs, Karl resolved to make a plundering expedition to Holland, the land of tobacco and cheese. He will endeavour to induce his uncle to help him out with money. So I am a grass widow at the present moment, and in high hope that the great Holland undertaking will be successful. Saturday of last week I received the first letter, which contained hopeful expressions and sixty gulden. Naturally, such a mission is not easily fulfilled; it takes time; one must be expedient, use diplomacy and be a good manager. I am in hopes, however, that Karl will drain Holland dry and leave the country poverty-stricken.

"As soon as he has attained success in Holland, he will undertake a secret trip to Berlin, in order to reconnoitre the conditions there with the possible plan of arranging for a weekly or monthly periodical. The latest experiences have convinced us only too well that no progress is possible without our own organ. If Karl's plan to create a new party paper succeeds, he will certainly write to your husband and call upon him for reports from America.

"Soon after Karl's departure, our faithful Lenchen took sick and to-day she is still abed, though on the road to recovery. For this reason I have my hands full of work, and have had to write this letter in the greatest hurry. But I could not and would not remain silent any longer; it has been a great relief to me to unload my heart to my oldest, truest friends. I will not make any excuses to you for having written in detail of everything and everyone. My pen ran away with me, and I can only hope and wish that you may experience only a little of the pleasure I felt at reading your letter. I have already attended to the note and all is quite in order, just as though my lord and master were here.

"My girls send their heartiest greetings and kisses to your dear children — one Laura greets the other — and I kiss each one of them in spirit. To you, my dear friend, I send my

warmest regards. May you remain brave and unshaken in these days of trial. The world belongs to the courageous. Continue to be the strong, faithful support of your dear husband and remain elastic in mind and body, the true 'unrespected' comrade of your dear children, and let me hear from you again at your first opportunity. Yours in sincere friendship,

"JENNY MARX."

Marx visited Lassalle in the spring of 1861, and he improved the occasion and seized the opportunity to visit his old mother at Trier. The discussion with Lassalle proved rather disappointing. With his customary vanity and egotism, Lassalle laid down as a fundamental condition of the partnership that if Marx and Engels joined him in editing the paper he was to have one vote while they were to have only one vote between them, as he "would otherwise always be in the minority." It was, of course, quite impossible for Marx to agree to such a proposition. But there was another and greater obstacle in the way of Lassalle's plan. The Prussian government interpreted the amnesty in such a manner that all political refugees who had lived out of Germany for more than ten years, and thus forfeited their right to be considered citizens of the Prussian Confederation, were treated exactly as foreigners and had to apply for naturalization. This rule covered a majority of the political refugees — all of the "forty-eighters"— and made it easy for the government to keep out any whose return might be regarded as "inconvenient." While he and Lassalle had failed to agree upon the terms of the proposed editorial partnership, Marx nevertheless contemplated settling in Berlin if possible. Lassalle therefore applied for a certificate of naturalization for him, and received, on the 11th of November, 1861, a reply from the Liberal minister stating that "at the present time, at any rate, there are no special reasons for giving a permit of naturalization to said Marx." Migration from London to Berlin was thus out of

the question for Marx, and he returned to London to work upon *Das Kapital.*

Toward the end of the summer of 1861, after the breakdown of his negotiations with Marx, Lassalle made a journey to Italy with the Countess Hatzfeld, and while there tried, so it is said, to persuade Garibaldi to raise an army of volunteers to invade Austria. This foolhardy notion seems to have been born of a belief which he held at this time that a revolution could be forced on. Certain it is that for some time he seriously contemplated the possibilities of a violent revolutionary movement in Germany. Even after his return from Italy, this thought seems to have lingered in his mind. Thus, on the 19th of June, 1862, he wrote Marx:[1]

"DEAR MARX: The bearer of this is Captain Schweigert, who has served with distinction under Garibaldi, and especially under my friend Rustow. He is the most honest and reliable fellow in the world. *C'est un homme d'action.* He is at the head of the *Wehr-Verein* (Arms Club) that he has organised from Coburg, and is now proceeding to London to try and raise the money for getting 3,000 muskets, which he requires for the *Wehr-Verein.* I've no need to tell you how desirable this would be. So be good enough to put him in communication with people from whom he can obtain money for this purpose, or any kind of assistance towards this end. Do your best. The probability of my coming to London grows.

"Thine,

"F. LASSALLE."

"Berlin, 19/6/62."

The writer of this letter was hardly the "national patriot" which Lassalle is commonly described as being! How little he understood Marx will be apparent to all who have followed the latter's career thus far, and observed his intense hatred and suspicion of all attempts at insurrection. Within a month from the writing of the foregoing letter, Lassalle visited Marx in

[1] Quoted by Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer,* page 110.

London, when he probably learned from Marx's own lips how seriously he had misunderstood him, how fundamentally different their viewpoints were. Although there was no quarrel, no definite rupture, their relations came to a natural end. After Lassalle returned to Berlin there was no further correspondence between them, thenceforth they were practically strangers to one another.

The outbreak of the American Civil War, in 1861, brought a new misfortune to Marx. The *New York Tribune* had given up its London correspondence, so that Marx lost the only steady and certain source of income he had. He had to do a great deal of outside work to keep his family and himself from being turned out into the streets. Much of this work was mere hack-work and exceedingly ill-paid. Marx was greatly discouraged and distressed and decided to turn his attention to something "practical." Toward the end of 1862, after a year of extraordinary hardship, he tried to obtain a position as clerk in a railway office and was greatly disappointed when he failed to get the position, owing to his bad handwriting!

In the face of all these hardships work upon his book of necessity proceeded very slowly. The marvel is, not that it should have proceeded slowly, but that it should have advanced at all. Still, by the end of 1862, the whole of the first volume was written and Marx could write to Dr. Kugelmann that it "only wants to be copied out in order to be ready for the printers." He hoped at that time to begin the copying the first week of 1863 and then, as soon as the work was done, take the manuscript to Germany and arrange for its publication. He little dreamed then that it would be nearly five years before he would be in a position to take that journey, and that in the interval he would launch a great international movement which would terrify half the governments of the world.

Marx, as is well known, loved to play the rôle of schoolmaster to his fellow exiles. He was forever urging them to

study and acquire fresh knowledge, and stinging were his rebukes to those who failed to make the best use of the opportunities for intellectual improvement which presented themselves. An unusually good judge of men, he exercised the utmost care and caution in choosing those to be taken into his confidence. When a newcomer was introduced to the Marx circle — the much denounced " Marxist clique "— he had to undergo a rather severe examination before his " initiation " was completed. Marx would study his features closely while plying him with a great variety of questions designed to reveal his " mental measure." After this oral examination and physical inspection he would often make a phrenological examination of the " subject " in the most approved style! He was a believer in phrenology and somewhat skilled in its practice. When he was not quite satisfied by his examination, he would arrange for an independent " reading " of the subject's cranium by a more expert practitioner.

In his capacity as schoolmaster Marx took pains to see that the remarkable evening courses of popular scientific lectures delivered in connection with London University, in the early sixties, were well attended by members of his circle. Eminent scientists like Huxley, Tyndall and Hoffmann lectured on physiology, geology and chemistry, and there were others hardly less eminent. The " old man " insisted that his " scholars " attend these lectures as regularly as possible, and he set them a good example by attending whenever it was possible for him to do so.

The progress of the American Civil War, and the bitter hostility of the British middle class to the Union cause, gave Marx an excellent opportunity to rally the working class of England to the support of Lincoln and the Union, and at the same time, to exert a profound influence upon the political history of the century. The debt of America to Marx has not yet been recognized by historians, and there are few who know that he, more than any other man, was responsible for turning the tide of British public opinion to the side of the North in the great

struggle which resulted in the abolition of slavery and the prevention of secession and the destruction of the Union of the States.

In October, 1862, Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of a " triumphal march " in the north of England, made a speech at Newcastle-on-Tyne in which he declared that Jefferson Davis had made a nation, and spoke with assurance of the success of the Southern Confederacy. His exact words were:

> " We know quite well that the people of the Northern states have not yet drunk of the cup — they are still trying to hold it far from their lips — which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of. We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy, and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation."

That amazingly indiscreet speech was the cause of great anxiety to Lincoln and his supporters, as well as to those Englishmen whose sympathies were with Lincoln and the North. Everywhere it was taken as an intimation of the intention of Her Majesty's Government to give official recognition to the Confederacy. Mr. Adams, the American Minister, wrote in his diary, on October 8th, the day after the speech:

" If Gladstone be any exponent at all of the views of the Cabinet, then is my term likely to be very short. The animus, as it respects Mr. Davis and the recognition of the rebel cause, is very apparent." [1]

A day later he recorded his intention of " seeking a conference with Lord John Russell, to ask an explanation of Gladstone's position." On the eighteenth of the same month, ten days after the speech of Gladstone, Mr. Adams interviewed Lord John Russell and said frankly: " If I had trusted to the

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[1] *Life of Charles Francis Adams,* by his son, Boston, 1900, p. 286.

construction given by the public to a late speech, I should have begun to think of packing my carpet bags and trunks." [1] Mr. Gladstone made some feeble attempts to explain away his amazingly indiscreet speech, which in later years he referred to as a mistake of "incredible grossness," but there is now not the slightest reason for doubting that official recognition of the Southern Confederacy was then seriously contemplated by the British government.

During the latter half of October, and the early part of November, 1862, it became generally known in England that Her Majesty's Government had for months conducted negotiations with the French Emperor, with a view to securing the joint action of England, France and Russia to bring about the cessation of the war. This knowledge gave to Gladstone's unfortunate speech a most sinister aspect. As early as the latter part of July, or more than two months before the speech at Newcastle, Gladstone, Palmerston, and other members of Her Majesty's Government, had been considering this step. Two weeks before the Newcastle speech Palmerston had written to Gladstone on the matter. The "friendly offices" of the three Powers would be offered to North and South. If both accepted, an armistice would follow, and negotiations on the basis of separation. If both should decline, then, Lord Palmerston assumed, the independence of the South would be acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government. Both Gladstone and Lord John Russell agreed to this, the latter writing on September 17th: "I agree with you that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States government, with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates. I agree further, that in case of failure, we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern states as an independent state." All this Mr. Gladstone knew when he made his famous speech at Newcastle.[2]

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[1] *Life of Charles Francis Adams*, p. 287.

[2] The Reader is referred to Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. 2, chap.

Now, there can be little doubt at this time that the actions of Her Majesty's Government admirably represented British public opinion, meaning thereby the opinion of the upper and middle classes. There was no other public opinion, for the lower classes, the proletariat, had not been heard from. It was not customary to consider proletarian opinion very seriously. Louis Blanc, who was then in England, declared that what sympathy there was for the North was like a dam, while that for the South was like a torrent, and the aphorism gives an admirable explanation of the facts. By the latter part of December, 1862, recognition of the Confederate states seemed to be only a few days off. It was understood that the emancipation of all slaves had been promised by the leaders of the Southern Confederacy as the price of official recognition by Great Britain as an independent state. It is hardly necessary to say that if that plan had been successfully carried out, and the war stopped by the intervention of the allied hostile Powers, all the tremendous sacrifice would have been rendered vain, and the separation of the Union into two nations would have been the result.

But, suddenly, almost as if by magic, a mighty roar of protest was heard reverberating throughout the limits of Great Britain, and completely drowning the clamor made by the upper and middle classes. The voice of English working-class radicalism was raised in protest against the attitude of the government and in behalf of President Lincoln and the Union. The trades unionists in particular organized tremendous mass meetings, and adopted ringing resolutions which filled the hearts of Her Majesty's ministers with dread, but bore hope and cheer to President Lincoln.

On the eve of the New Year great mass meetings were held in London, Sheffield and Manchester to celebrate the Proclamation of Emancipation, declaring the English and American

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5, and to Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell,* vol. 2, for confirmation of the account given of the diplomatic history of the subject.

people to be truly one, denouncing slavery as the real cause of the war, and expressing profound sympathy with President Lincoln and approval of his policy. The effect of these meetings was almost magical. From that time on, for a period of several months, immense demonstrations were held in the great industrial centres, addressed by such orators as John Bright and Richard Cobden and such tried and trusted friends of the working class as John Stuart Mill, Professor E. S. Beesly and Mr., afterward Sir, W. R. Cremer, then a working carpenter. Resolutions of congratulation and praise were showered upon President Lincoln from these mass meetings of the workers of England and Scotland. Even the workers of Lancashire, who had been reduced to a state of famine by the war, joined in the mighty chorus, causing President Lincoln to say that they had exhibited a "sublime Christian heroism" which had not been "surpassed in any age or in any country."

It is to the everlasting credit of the working class that their firm stand effectually turned the tide in favor of the Northern cause as against that of the Southern Confederacy. Within a few weeks it became impossible for the hitherto arrogant middle-class support of the Southern states to be expressed at meetings to which the public were invited. Those who sympathized with the cause of the South were forced to the expedient of holding carefully guarded "ticket meetings" whenever they desired to express their views, and even these were sometimes rudely broken up. It was utterly impossible for Her Majesty's Government, in the face of this strong reaction, seriously to consider giving official recognition to the Southern Confederacy.

To Karl Marx, more than to any other man, is due the credit for that uprising of the working class of Great Britain. It was he who started the movement, and caused the trades unionists of London to take the first step toward raising a protest of the working class against the action of the government, and in favor of Lincoln and his policies. Marx called

upon one of his lieutenants, George Eccarius, a leading spirit of the London Trades Council, to move in that body for the holding of a great demonstration of the organized workers of London, and the issuance of a call to the organized workers of other great industrial centres to take similar action. Not only that, but the resolutions adopted were in substance suggested by Marx, if not actually written by him.

Marx, it must be remembered, was a most passionate and devoted admirer of President Lincoln. It is probable that the message which Lincoln addressed to Congress early in December, 1861, had much to do with the admiration and esteem with which Marx regarded him. In that message Lincoln had declared that "Labour is prior to, and independent of, Capital. Capital is only the fruit of Labour, and could never have existed if Labour had not first existed. Labour is the superior of Capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." Such sentiments could not fail to appeal to the Socialist. Added to that fact there was the fact that Lincoln was what Marx was pleased to call "a single-minded son of toil," one of the common people. How sincere was his desire to be of assistance to Lincoln and the Union cause may be gathered from the fact that he advised the committees responsible for those great trades union demonstrations to secure the services of John Bright and Richard Cobden. He detested both men, even more than he detested Palmerston and Gladstone. Principally on account of their bitter opposition to factory legislation, he regarded both men with an almost unspeakable loathing. But he was quite willing that they should be used by the workers to voice their support of Emancipation and the Union, and their protest against the threatened recognition of the seceding, slaveholding states.

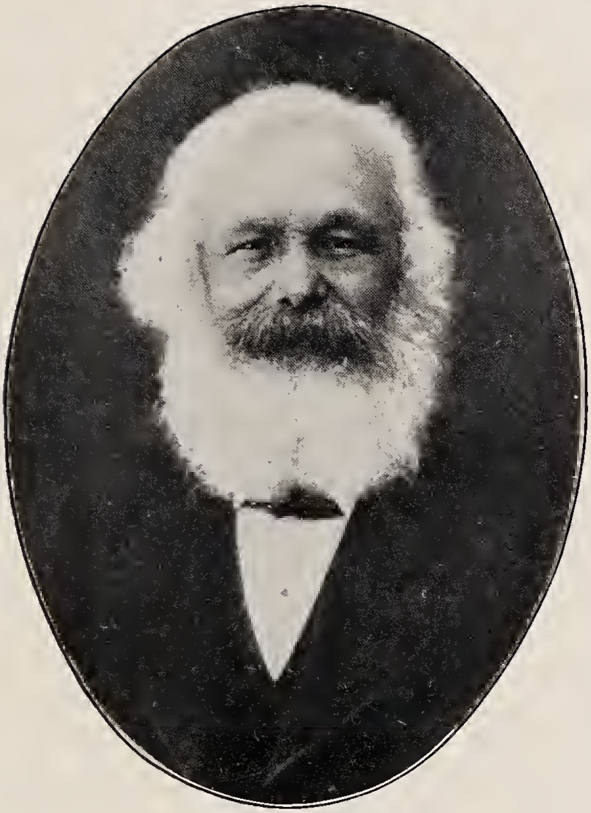
Contrary to his hope and expectation, Marx made practically no progress with *Capital* during the years 1863–1864. For a long time in 1863, and a still longer period in 1864, he was ill, the old functional disorders recurring in an aggravated

form. For weeks at a time he could do no more than answer the most pressing letters. His family being still dependent upon the meagre income he derived from odd literary jobs, supplemented by occasional contributions from Engels, each period of illness added greatly to the chronic poverty and misery. There were many times in 1863 when it seemed inevitable that the family would be forced into the streets. In 1864 things became a little easier for them. In the first place, Marx's mother had died in 1863 and left him a small legacy, which he received in 1864, and, secondly, in that year Engels became a partner in his father's Manchester business, thus greatly improving his position. And, of course, an improvement in his financial position was equally advantageous to his friends.

The year 1863 is a memorable one in Socialist annals, for in that year the Social Democratic movement of Germany arose. In February, Dr. Otto Dammer, acting on behalf of the Central Committee of an organization of workingmen at Leipsic, wrote to Lassalle setting forth that the workers he represented had come to the conclusion that the cooperative associations advocated by Schulze-Delitsch could not materially benefit the proletariat, and informing Lassalle that the Central Committee had resolved:

> " To request you to express your views, in any form you think fit, upon the working-class movement, and the tactics it should pursue, and especially upon the value of the associations for the entirely unpropertied classes of the people."

It seems that, previous to sending this communication, the members of the Central Committee — Dr. Dammer, the author; F. W. Fitzsche, the cigarmaker, and Karl Julius Vahlteich, the ex-shoemaker journalist — had interviewed Lassalle and that he had suggested the form their official invitation should take. Lassalle responded with his famous *Open Reply Letter,* in which he pointed out that the political organization of the working-class was a historical necessity, and emphasized



KARL MARX

the need of a struggle for "universal suffrage in order to obtain State help for cooperative enterprises." Although Lassalle called himself a disciple of Marx, and accepted his theories, his programme was much more like that of the English Chartists than that of present-day Marxian Socialists. It was not a programme over which Marx and his friends could be expected to wax enthusiastic. On May 23, 1863, the Universal German Workingmen's Association was formed, with Lassalle as its first president.

The attitude of Marx toward the movement seems to have been one of complete neutrality. That he was always kept completely informed of its progress is certain, for toward the end of 1863, Liebknecht and other members of the Marx circle joined the Association, greatly to the delight of Lassalle. Marx kept quiet concerning the organization and when in 1864, soon after Lassalle's tragic death, serious dissensions broke out among the members of the Association, he declined to take any part in the controversies which developed. True, when the *Social Democrat* appeared on January 1st of the following year, Marx became a contributor to it, as did Engels and Liebknecht. The situation had changed somewhat with the organization of the International, and Marx could not afford to appear indifferent to the German movement. Perhaps, too, he had already conceived the idea of weaning it from its Lassallean principles.

In September, 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded, and Marx at once became its acknowledged, but unofficial, leader. For the next seven years his life was mainly devoted to the affairs of that greatest proletarian organization of modern times, so that to write the story of the International is to write the life of its founder during that period. Only those who are familiar with the history of the International Workingmen's Association can have any idea of the enormous amount of work which fell upon Marx during the years 1864–1872.

For the sake of obtaining a clearer and more distinct picture of Marx's life during this period, it is best to postpone the history of the International to a separate chapter, and to review briefly in the present chapter his other activities in that period, perhaps the busiest of his whole life. That the feverish activity of those years hastened his death there can be no doubt. He burned life's candle at both ends and premature extinction was inevitable.

Marx always manifested a peculiar interest in Poland and sympathized deeply with the insurrection which followed the "secret conscription" of January 15, 1863, when, by order of the Russian viceroy, the Grand Duke Constantine, all the Poles suspected of being hostile to the government were dragged from their beds and forcibly enlisted as soldiers. He gloried in the heroism of the insurgent Poles, though he realised perfectly well that they were certain to be overwhelmed by Russia. The sanguinary measures adopted by General Mouravieff for the suppression of the rebellion roused a storm of indignation in England, indignation which Marx fully shared.

It was Marx who, through George Eccarius, induced the London Trades Council, of which body Eccarius was a member, to arrange for a great meeting to protest against the sanguinary suppression of the Poles by Russia, in the same way as he inspired the great protest meetings held in London, and in great provincial towns like Sheffield and Manchester, in 1862–1863, to voice the friendship of the workers for President Lincoln and the Northern States.

The Polish meeting was held in April, 1864, at St. James's Hall. Delegates from France were present in response to an invitation to join in the protest. Resolutions were adopted calling upon the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, to intercede on behalf of the oppressed Poles. Of course, nothing practical resulted from this appeal to Lord Palmerston, and Marx certainly could not have expected anything. It was good, however, to have the English workers espouse the cause of Poland,

and, above all, it was good to have the fraternization of the workers of two nations in support of the workers of a third.

During a large part of 1864, Marx was ill and unable to do much work upon his book. The agitation in favour of Poland and the founding of the International absorbed practically all his time and strength. Fortunately, the small legacy received from his mother's estate made this a more comfortable year than any he and his wife had known since their marriage. At the end of November he wrote to Kugelmann, "I think that next year my book *Capital* will at least be ready for the printer." He had written in much the same strain to the same friend two years before.

Throughout the year 1865 the affairs of the International occupied most of his time. He attended all the meetings of the General Council and took part in the discussions upon political and economic questions to which these meetings were devoted. Besides this, he carried on an enormous correspondence and wrote practically every word of the public statements of the International. Prudence was thrown to the winds and, in spite of all warnings, he worked with titanic energy, often as many as eighteen hours a day. Before the autumn was ended his strength once more gave way and his condition alarmed his friends. Night work and excessive smoking had induced a crisis. The family physician ordered a complete rest and reduced his cigar allowance to one a day.

Concerning his passion for tobacco, Liebknecht tells a rather amusing story. Marx smoked a pipe frequently, but was especially fond of cigars, of which he proudly imagined himself to be a connoisseur. In point of fact, no matter how good a judge of cigars he might have been in his early years, his taste had been completely ruined by long years of indulgence in the cheapest and most abominable brands to be had. A well-to-do visitor from Germany having brought some fine imported cigars with him during the great exposition of 1862, a time when Marx was specially hard pressed, Liebknecht and other mem-

bers of the little circle decided to play the " old man " a trick. When Marx entered the room the rare aroma tickled his nose and he cried out, " Ah, that smells excellent! " Of course, he was invited to smoke " a genuine Havana "— and they gave him not one of the good, imported cigars, but a cheap cigar, the vilest obtainable in a long search through St. Giles, the worst proletarian district of the West End. Marx smoked his " genuine Havana " with great relish, remarking: " I was a little suspicious at first; generally they bring a miserable weed from Germany, but this one is really good! " Not for some days did his friends attempt to disillusion him, and then he obstinately refused to believe them. The cigar *was* a genuine Havana and they were *now* trying to hoodwink him!

His chronic poverty compelled him to be continually on the lookout for cheap tobacco and cigars, greatly to the detriment of his health. Cigars are quite expensive in England, yet those smoked by Marx often cost less than a penny each, according to a statement made by one of his intimate friends to the present writer. Out of this necessity for economy he whimsically evolved a " theory of saving " with which he used to amuse his associates, little dreaming that such a theory would come to be seriously held by some of the British economists. Having discovered a brand of cigars — dubbed " cabbage smokes " by his friends — which cost eighteenpence a box less than those he had been using, he argued that he thus " saved " eighteenpence each time he consumed a box. If he could only manage to smoke a box a day, he would be able on a pinch to live upon his " savings! "

How seriously Marx took the meetings of the General Council of the International, and everything connected with them, may be judged from a single incident. At one of the meetings of the General Council a prominent member, named Weston, read a paper dealing with the law of wages, a topic suggested by the regular epidemic of strikes which prevailed all over Europe in the first half of the year 1865. Marx was present and lis-

tened to Weston's paper with great interest. Weston argued that the amount of production determined the amount of real wages, that is, of wages measured by conditions. Therefore, it was foolish for the workers to strike for the purpose of raising wages, since, while they might succeed temporarily, a reaction was inevitable. Marx listened to this strange argument with rare patience and in the discussion which followed it criticized Weston's theory trenchantly but with great kindness. That same night he began work upon *Value, Price and Profit*, his reply to Weston. Written in great haste, this little book is still unsurpassed as an epitome of the first volume of *Capital*. Marx addressed the paper to the General Council, reading it at one of the meetings, and despite its length it was ordered to be presented to the ensuing International Congress. It seems to have been the intention of the General Council to publish the essay, but for some reason it was never published until some years after the death of its author, when it was discovered among his papers by his daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

The year 1866 opened badly for Marx. Having rallied from the illness of the previous autumn, he had thrown himself into his work with all his customary ardour. Early in the New Year the General Council had, upon his suggestion, arranged a campaign in favour of franchise reform, and Marx was specially gratified by an immense mass meeting at which none but workingmen spoke. The meeting attracted a great deal of attention, the *Times* discussing the subject in two consecutive issues. What most gratified Marx was the fact that he could write to Kugelmann: "Some of the more important trades unions, which formerly only thought about wages, are now taking a prominent part in other agitation." To secure working-class unity and action had been his constant aim even before 1848, and the smallest sign of progress in that direction was welcome.

In addition to the work of the reform agitation, he had once more resumed the copying of the manuscript of the first

volume of *Capital.* "I am still working twelve hours a day in copying out my manuscript," he wrote. Of course, this meant more night work, and in a few weeks his condition was so bad that he had to be ordered to Margate for a complete rest. In Margate he remained for several weeks, staying at No. 5, Lansell's Place. When the present writer lived at Ramsgate some ten years ago, there was an old retired naval officer there with whom Marx had become acquainted during his stay at Margate in 1866. He spoke of Marx with profound respect and said that what most impressed him was his insatiable thirst for knowledge. Walking from Margate to various points of interest in the neighbourhood, Marx would ply his companion with questions upon marine matters. Upon several occasions he was almost enraptured by the scenic splendour and recited appropriate poetry, both German and English, much to his companion's delight. The old man spoke also of the great love of children which Marx displayed, and the delight with which he watched them gambol upon the beach. Some eight years later, when his physician once more ordered him to Margate, he went instead to Ramsgate in order to be near his old naval friend.

Marx left Margate in the middle of April, 1866, greatly benefited by his stay there. By the middle of the summer, owing to the heavy expenditures occasioned by his illness and the entire cessation of remunerative work, his financial condition was once more desperate. The legacy from his mother's estate was entirely exhausted and he was once more at the mercy of the loan sharks. In a letter to Kugelmann, he wrote, on October 13, 1866:

"Owing to my long illness, and in consequence of the many things I have had to give up, my private affairs have become embarrassed and I am in the midst of a financial crisis. This, in addition to the unpleasantness for my family, is especially awkward in London, where so much depends on appearances. What I wanted to know from you was whether you knew one

or more persons who would lend me about 1,000 thalers at 5 or 6 per cent for two years. (I need hardly say that this is strictly private.) At present I am paying 20 to 50 per cent interest for the small sums which I borrow, and I do not know where to turn for money, and if it goes on there must soon be a crash."

The injunction of secrecy imposed upon Kugelmann in the foregoing letter is quite characteristic. It recurs constantly in his letters. Marx was extremely sensitive about his private affairs and only the most desperate need could induce him to reveal his true situation to his most intimate friends. He was always anxious lest Bismarck should learn the full extent of his poverty — possibly because he felt that the Iron Chancellor would endeavour to entrap him if he knew. A letter which he wrote to Kugelmann in August, similar in contents to the one written in October, failed to reach Kugelmann for some time, owing to the latter's travels. Marx hastily concluded that the letter had been seized by the Prussian government. He wrote in the second letter: "This loss of my letter is very unpleasant to me, as I do not want Prince Bismarck to know about my private affairs. If he wants to know about my political views he can write to me direct and I will let him know all about them." If he feared that Bismarck would use the knowledge of his poverty to ensnare him, the fear was not without foundation, for Bismarck had already made a cunning attempt to do that very thing.

It is well known that Bismarck attempted to secure the services of Marx as contributor to the government organ, the *Staats Anzeiger*. Marx, he knew, was desperately poor, and, while he might not be induced to accept a bribe, it might be possible to persuade him to accept a position as correspondent for the organ of the government. Accordingly, Marx received the following letter:

"BERLIN, October 8, 1865,
"Schöneberger Ufer 31.

"*Most Esteemed Doctor!*

"Business first! The *Staats Anzeiger* desires to obtain regu-

lar monthly reports concerning the movements of the money market (and, of course the produce market, where these are inseparable).

"I was requested to recommend someone and replied that, according to my knowledge, you were the most capable and qualified. I was thereupon bidden to apply to you.

"No limitations are set regarding the length of the articles — the more thorough and comprehensive the better. Regarding the contents, it is self-understood that you will follow your own scientific conviction; however, in consideration of this class of readers (*haute finance*) — not of the editors — it will be advisable to allow the heart of the same to become obvious only to experts, and to avoid controversies.

"There is one stipulation — that these articles may be relied upon to reach here regularly on a certain date, to be designated by you.

"Kindly write whether you agree to undertake this, and what compensation you desire; also when you will begin.

"How much has occurred and been destroyed since that excursion to Virginia Water! Lassalle's last month will always remain a psychological riddle to me. Owing to his contempt for women, I should not have believed him capable of falling in love, nor can I comprehend that he could have looked for a satisfaction of his wounded pride in *that* affair.

"I myself have returned, as you know, to my first love, the manuscripts, and thank God every morning.

"That now my thoughts no longer must flow
"To bid me write what I don't know.

"I always differed with Lassalle concerning his belief in a rapid development. Progress will have changed its skin many times before it dies; therefore, he who wishes to serve the nation during his lifetime must rally 'round the government.

"Kindly remember me to your wife, and give my kindest regards to the young ladies, especially the smallest one.

"With great esteem,

"Devotedly yours, L. BUCHER."

At the time this letter was written, Lothar Bucher was Bismarck's right-hand man. Formerly he was a revolutionist, connected with the Communist League from 1848 to the date of its abandonment. Exiled on account of his revolutionary



Lothar Bucher



Karl Vogt

activities in 1848, he lived in London until 1859, when he was permitted to return to Berlin. During the years of his exile in London, Bucher was very intimate with Marx, especially during the first half of that period.

The references to Lassalle in the letter quoted recall the fact that Bucher was an intimate friend of the great apostle of German Socialism. How little he really understood Lassalle's nature may be judged from the letter itself; evidently the professed "contempt for women," which was part of the Lassallean pose, completely deceived him. That Lassalle trusted the man and respected his judgment may be inferred from the fact that in his will he named Bucher as one of his literary executors.

A man of remarkable intellectual gifts, Bucher, soon after his return to Germany, allied himself with Bismarck. He became a Privy Councillor, and Bismarck's most intimate friend and confidant to whom the most important and delicate missions were entrusted. He probably influenced the great Chancellor more than any other single force. He was, indeed, if we may trust such a shrewd observer as Mr. Whitman,[1] "the power behind the throne." There can be little doubt that in offering Marx a position on the *Staats Anzeiger* he was acting for Prince Bismarck, his master.

The subtlety of the tempter is evident. Marx might very easily have reasoned that, since no restrictions would be placed upon him in that regard, the circulation of the *Staats Anzeiger* would offer him a splendid opportunity to get his ideas before the German public; that, even if the real meaning of the economic events dealt with could only be expressed in a manner intelligible to "experts," their interpretation could be easily supplied by the active propagandists of the movement.

Without any lack of loyalty to the cause, another man might have accepted the offer. Lassalle would probably have done

[1] Reminiscences of Prince Bismarck, by Sidney Whitman, New York, 1903.

so and considered that the position was a vantage point of great importance to the movement. But Marx was adamant and declined, in face of the fact that he was terribly harassed by poverty and debt at the time. He knew well the importance of being, not only innocent of wrongdoing, but free from the faintest suspicion of it. He realized, too, that the freedom offered was a delusion and a snare; that the effect of his acceptance of Bismarck's offer would be to " draw the teeth " of the revolutionary movement which he represented.

Two years later, on December 7th, 1867, Marx wrote to Kugelmann: " Bucher has, as I think I told you, asked me to be the economic correspondent of the Royal Prussian state newspaper. You can see that if I were willing to make use of such channels I could do so without being beholden to a third person." Whether this refers to the offer made in 1865, or to a later offer, there is nothing in the letter to indicate. There is a story to the effect that, in the summer of 1867, Bucher had a personal interview with Marx, at which he tried to persuade him to accept the position. It is said that he laid a blank check before Marx, telling him to fix his own salary. The story lacks confirmation, though it was implicitly believed by several of the intimate friends of Marx.

Bucher served Bismarck successfully in many an important and delicate mission, but he completely failed when he attempted to entangle Marx by inducing him to accept this favor at Bismarck's hand. Later, as we shall see, Bucher served Marx upon more than one occasion; some act, or acts, of Bucher had, it appears, practically given his fate into the keeping of Marx.[1] It is known that the one-time revolutionist ultimately sank so low that he drafted the Anti-Socialist Law in the seventies. He died at Glion, Switzerland, in the autumn of 1892.

By the last of January, 1867, the long task of copying the manuscript of the first volume of his great work was com-

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[1] See page 296.

pleted, and he began to plan the trip to Germany for the purpose of arranging its publication. Some word of his intention to visit Germany appears to have leaked out, for some of the German papers referred to a mysterious mission which the ogre-like head of the terrible International was about to undertake in Germany. The *Norddeutschland Zeitung* specifically stated that Marx was about to visit Germany and other places in connection with an insurrection in Poland which he was planning. On the 18th of February he wrote to Kugelmann, enclosing a letter contradicting these rumours, calculated to throw his foes "off the scent," begging Kugelmann to get it inserted in the press. The matter was of great importance to him, for *he was* soon to visit Germany and did not want the attentions of the police. In the early part of March he left London for Germany, taking with him the precious manuscript, some of the first chapters of which he had already sent to Meiszner, the publisher, at Hamburg. He did not, however, go direct to Hamburg, as might have been expected under the circumstances. Instead he went to Hanover on a visit to his friend Kugelmann. He seems to have stayed there for about two weeks, and really to have enjoyed the visit. The delicate attentions of Kugelmann and his wife pleased him greatly, and he afterward wrote, "My stay in Hanover is one of the finest and most peaceful oases in my life."

In Hamburg, in addition to arranging for the publication of his book, he met a man with whom he is often confused, and for whose vagaries he is held responsible, Wilhelm Marr. In a great many books and pamphlets on Socialism, and in many popular lectures on the subject, Marx is quoted as follows: "The idea of God must be destroyed. It is the keystone of a perverted civilization. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is Atheism." Had the opponents of Socialism been familiar with Marx's teaching, they would know that he could not have uttered such ideological nonsense. The quotation is

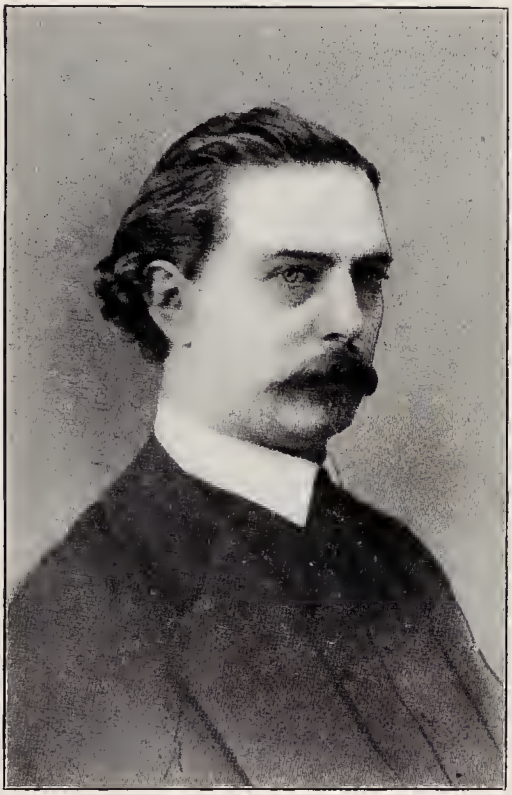
a free translation of a passage in a work by Wilhelm Marr, entitled *Das junge Deutschland in der Schweiz.*[1]

Marr was not a Socialist at all, but an Anarchist of the most violent type. His programme was the abolition of Church, State, property and marriage, with the one positive tenet of "a bloody and fearful revenge upon the rich and powerful!" He was a bitter opponent of Socialism, and later on became a fanatical anti-Semite. In a letter to Kugelmann telling of his meeting with Marr, Marx described him as "a kind of Christian version of Lassalle, but he is not naturally worth as much as the original." Later, when Marr devoted himself to Jew-baiting, Marx spoke of him with measureless loathing and scorn.

On his return journey from Hamburg to London, Marx had an amusing experience with a young lady, which he described in a letter to Kugelmann as follows:

"My journey to London from Hamburg was, on the whole, a good one, though we had bad weather on the first day. A few hours before reaching London a young German girl, who had impressed me by her military appearance, told me that she wanted to leave the same evening for Weston-Super-Mare, and she did not see how she could do it with so much luggage. The case was the more desperate because it was Sunday, and the Sabbath is an awkward day in England. I asked her what was

[1] It is perhaps worth while calling attention to another amusing confusion of personalities which caused the author of *Capital* to be held responsible for views grotesquely at variance with those he really held. Some years ago I picked up a piece of newspaper, which could not be identified, containing a quotation signed "Karl Marx," which was an orthodox, evangelical Christian appeal such as any Protestant missionary society might issue! Long afterward I came across some similar sentences in an English Christian Socialist paper. Of course, it was obvious that there was some mistake. The puzzle was solved when I, quite accidentally, stumbled across another "Dr. Karl Marx" in the pages of an Indian journal, the *Transactions* of the Bengal Society. This other Dr. Karl Marx was a Moravian missionary at Leh, Ladakh. He was born at Niesky, in Silesia, Prussia, January 9th, 1859, and died at Leh, Ladakh, May 29, 1891.



L. Kugelmann

the station which she had to go to, and this friends had written down for her. It was the North-Western station, by which I had also to travel. I offered, as a good knight, to accompany the lady. She accepted. But I then thought that Weston-Super-Mare is in the South-West, while the station given goes to the North-West. I consulted the captain and found, as I thought, that she must leave by another station — Waterloo, which is quite in another direction. But I had promised, and must do the best I could. We landed at 2 P.M. I took the lady to her station and found, as I feared, that the first train she could take did not leave till 8 P.M. So I was in for it, and I had to kill six hours with Mademoiselle by taking her to Hyde Park, etc. It appeared that her name was Elizabeth von Puttkamer, a niece of Bismarck, with whom she had stayed for several weeks in Berlin. She knew the whole Army List, for this family is a military one. She was a nice, cultured girl, but aristocratic and Tory to her very finger tips. She was not a little astonished when she found that she had fallen into the hands of one of the 'reds.' I trust that she was not hurt, and I saw her safe and sound to the station. Think how Blind [1] would talk of my conspiracy with Bismarck if he knew of this!"

By the middle of June, Marx began to receive proof sheets of his book, the first copies of which reached London at the beginning of September. His health in the interim was very poor, and reading the proofsheets was a severe strain. Upon every page he sought the advice of Engels, making occasional journeys to Manchester to consult with him. He was especially afraid that he had not made himself clear, and was always greatly relieved when Engels described it as "easy reading." When he saw his work in print it always made him fear that it was not clear, he said.

In spite of illness, poverty and the work involved in seeing his book through the press, he found time for an almost incredible amount of other work. Practically all the correspondence of the General Council of the International to and from

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[1] Karl Blind, the German revolutionist, who had bitterly attacked Marx.

the various sections passed through his hands, and he wrote every important letter which the General Council sent out, as well as all the reports and resolutions of that body. In addition he wrote innumerable private letters and arranged the Lausanne congress so that his supporters would defeat the followers of Proudhon, drafting most of the important resolutions in advance. The election of Liebknecht and Bebel to the North German Diet in that year added considerably to the strength of Marx's following in Germany and his advice was constantly sought upon questions of tactics and policy.

Marx sympathized with Ireland quite as much as with Poland, and never failed to manifest his sympathy with the Irish cause in a practical way. In 1866 he agitated the question of the treatment of political prisoners in Irish prisons, and the General Council of the International decided to send a deputation to the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, protesting against the prevailing ill-treatment and demanding reform. The deputation, however, was not received. Then, in 1867, came the sentence of the four Fenians — the "Manchester Martyrs"— to death. Marx at once denounced the sentence as "projected judicial murder." Toward the end of October the General Council held a great mass meeting in London to protest against the death sentence. In a resolution which Marx wrote the sentence was denounced as "judicial murder," and the Home Secretary was called upon to remit the penalty, not merely as an act of humanity, but also as one of sound political policy. In the end, three of the men were hanged, the fourth being pardoned by the Queen.

In the beginning of 1868 Marx completely broke down and was compelled by illness to give up work. He worried greatly over the loss of so much precious time. For nearly three months he was unable to write, but he made the best use of the time by going through a mass of statistics "that would have been enough to make many people ill." Earning very little, his circumstances continued to be most painful and embarrassing.

It was absolutely necessary for him to keep up a decent appearance, and the children, especially the two older daughters, had to dress reasonably well. The desirability of moving to Geneva was the theme of frequent anxious discussions in the family circle. At Geneva, it would have been possible to live comfortably upon his income, but London was frightfully expensive. In Geneva an income of a thousand dollars a year would have been sufficient to maintain them in comfort, but in London it took from two thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars. "If I had not these two damned books to get through, which I cannot do anywhere but in London, I would go to Geneva, where I could live comfortably on my present income," he wrote in March. And in August he wrote again: "I hope very much that at the end of next September (1869) the state of my work will allow me to leave London for good, and to go to the Continent. I would go at once as soon as I could leave the Museum (i. e., the Library). The expense of living here gets worse and worse, and I should be glad to be quiet, too, as peace is the first duty of a 'bourgeois.'"

In 1868 Gladstone forced the Irish question to the front, and Marx gave a great deal of attention to it. He distrusted and almost despised Gladstone, and did not believe in the sincerity of his friendship for Ireland. He believed that the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland would lead to the speedy disestablishment of the English Church, and that the fall of landlordism, first in Ireland and then in England, would speedily follow as a logical and necessary result. "I am quite convinced," he wrote on April 6, 1868, in a letter to Kugelmann, "that the social revolution, which must depend on the fall of [the] landlords, will soon begin. Especially will this be in Ireland, for as soon as the Protestant Irish tenants in Ulster join, for the purpose of agitation, the Catholic tenants in the other three provinces of Ireland, they will succeed, as the landlords will no longer be able to take advantage of religious bigotry."

In the autumn of the following year he carried on a vigorous agitation in favour of granting an amnesty to Irish political prisoners, attacking Gladstone as vigorously as he had ever attacked Palmerston. Marx's friendship for the Irish cause was no slight affair. He believed with all the intensity of which he was capable that the English working class would never be able to free itself until the Irish question was settled. Therefore he urged that the English workers should make common cause with the Irish in their struggle, and that they should take the initiative in denouncing the union of 1800 and demanding that it be replaced by a free federation. While he did not hold a high opinion of O'Donovan Rossa, the Fenian, the election of "the convicted felon" to the House of Commons pleased him greatly as "a heavy blow to the government." The English rule of Ireland he described as "a government of cruel force and shameless corruption."

In the letter to Kugelmann from which the foregoing quotations are taken, he says:

"The first thing to be done for emancipation here is to strike down the English oligarchy of landlords, and the fort here can never be stormed as long as there are strong outposts in Ireland. But as soon as the Irish people begin to have freedom, as soon as they make their own laws and regulations, as soon as it is autonomous, then the downfall of the landed aristocracy in that country will come (and most of these landlords are also English landlords). The matter will be easier there than here, because in Ireland it is not only an economical but also a national question, as the landlords there are not, as in England, of the same race as the people, but they are the deadly, hated oppressors of the Irish. Now, not only is the social awakening of England hindered by the present union with Ireland, but England's foreign policy, especially with Russia and the United States, is also affected by it. If the English workers will at last decide on working for their emancipation, then matters should begin to move. Cromwell's English republic was wrecked because of Ireland. The same thing must not occur again."

Early in October, 1868, Marx was delighted to receive from a St. Petersburg bookseller word that a Russian translation of *Capital* had been published with the author's photograph.

"I have my Russian friends to thank for this," he wrote. "It is strange that the Russians should always have been my well-wishers, for I have fought against them for twenty-five years. In 1843–1844 the Russian autocrats thought a lot about me in Paris, and my books against Proudhon in 1847 and against Duncker in 1848 were received with great favour in Russia. Of course, the Russian aristocracy have been influenced by French and German culture. Many Russians hold very extreme views but like to keep them to themselves, and, as Voltaire said of himself, he did not write for cobblers and tailors. And as statesmen the Russians are very reactionary."

The statement of Marx that he had fought against the Russians for twenty-five years might, taken by itself, seem to confirm a very common notion concerning his anti-Russian attitude. It has been very commonly charged that he detested everything Russian, and that his Russophobia extended even to the revolutionary movement itself. In support of this charge, his bitter hostility to Bakunin, Herzen and other Russians is pointed out. When Engels was asked on one occasion if it were not a fact that Marx was a bitter enemy of Russia he confused his questioner by demanding to know "Which Russia?" Of course, Marx violently opposed the Russian autocracy. He looked upon Russian absolutism as the backbone of the reactionary forces of Europe. But opposition to official Russia no more suffices to make an anti-Russian of Marx than of Bakunin, Herzen or Tchernychefsky, for example.

It is true also that Marx vigorously opposed the fantastic Panslavisme of Bakunin and Herzen, and that he sometimes attacked them with great asperity and bitterness. On the other hand, for Tchernychefsky, the brilliant author of *What Is to be Done,* he entertained the greatest respect, frequently speaking of him with admiration, alike as a scientist, a critic and a

man. For Herman A. Lopatin, who finished the translation of the first volume of *Capital* which Bakunin began, Marx entertained genuine affection, and there were many other Russian revolutionists with whom he was on intimate terms. When the terroristic Party of the People's Will (*Narodania Volia*) was organized in 1879, it was greeted by none more enthusiastically than by Marx, and he was often called upon to advise its leaders upon questions of policy. Marx believed that at last the weapon had been forged which would destroy Russian absolutism and weaken the whole reactionary mass throughout Europe. To represent him as being antagonistic to the Russian revolutionary movement, or to any Russia except that of the autocracy, is to commit a great injustice to his memory.

Before the rise of the *Narodania Volia,* in 1877, he had shown his friendship to the more pacificatory educational association, *Semlia e Volia.* Marx and his theories were much discussed in Russia at that time, he was warmly attacked and as warmly defended. That was a time when Socialism was "in the air," when ladies of fashion named their children after Lassalle, Marx, Herzen and other revolutionary leaders. The relation of the Marxian theory of historical development to Russia became the subject of a great deal of discussion. The question was: Will the Commune prove an effective obstacle to the development of capitalism in Russia; will it be destroyed by capitalism, or will it survive and prove to be the nucleus of the organization of a Socialist society?

This question was submitted to Marx and he dealt with it in an article which was published in *Fatherland's Records,* the leading radical magazine of Russia in those days. The article was circulated by the revolutionists as a document of great importance but the police confiscated most of the copies. For this reason it was reprinted, in December, 1886, in the revolutionary magazine, *The Messenger of the People's Will,* which was edited from Paris, and of which Peter Lavroff was one of the editors. In his article, which ought to be carefully studied by

those who insist upon a narrow interpretation of his theory of historical development, Marx lays unusual emphasis upon the element of national choice as a factor of social evolution. He refers to Tchernychefsky's view that instead of beginning with the destruction of the rural commune and going through all the developments of capitalism, Russia might "adopt all the fruits of this system without going through the tortures connected with it, and develop in accordance with its peculiar historical environment." He is rather cautious about committing himself, but it is very evident that he does not think the theory of the great scientist and critic at all absurd or impossible.

After telling how he learned the Russian language, "for the purpose of enabling myself to judge about the process of the economic development of modern Russia with certitude," he says that he had come to the following conclusion: "If Russia will follow the way chosen by it after 1861, it will lose one of the most convenient opportunities which history ever offered to a people — *to evade all the features of the capitalist system.*" In a later paragraph he makes this application to Russia of the chapter of *Capital* which deals with the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation: "If Russia endeavours to become a capitalistic land like Western Europe (and during late years it has laboured sufficiently in that respect) it will not reach it without first transforming a good portion of its peasants into proletarians. But after this, first having fallen under the yoke of a capitalistic régime, it will be compelled to submit to the cruel laws of capitalism on a par with other unsuspecting nations."

Five years later, in a preface to Plechanoff's translation of the *Communist Manifesto,* Marx and Engels made a joint reply to the same question. "The sole possible answer, at this time," they wrote, "is this: If the Russian revolution is the signal for the labour revolution in the West, so that both complete each other, the modern Russian Communal landownership might become the basis for a communistic development."

This long digression from the main lines of our narrative can only be justified by the importance of the subject to the student of Marx's life and opinions. No account of his life could be satisfactory which failed to take his attitude toward Russia and the Russian revolutionary movement into just account. Having attempted so much, we must retrace our steps to the point of our departure from the straight course of our story.

In addition to an enormous amount of work for the International, and the part he played in the Irish agitation, Marx did a great deal of work in 1869 on Volumes II and III of *Capital.* He was far advanced with the second volume when he felt the need of making a study of some important works to be had only in the Russian language. Nothing would satisfy him then except to learn Russian, to which he devoted himself with such diligence, despite his ill-health, that in a few months he could both read and speak it with ease. He was constantly revising his manuscript to secure absolute accuracy, and it was said that in order to verify a single statement, which did not materially affect his argument in any case, he would spend a week in the British Museum library. Naturally progress was slow under these circumstances, and though Marx had written in March, 1869, that the manuscript of the second volume would be ready before the end of summer, it was still unfinished at the end of the year.

That the police kept close track of his movements is evident from two incidents which occurred during this year. About the middle of March he had planned to go to Paris to pay a visit to his daughter, Madame Lafargue. Either the news had leaked out through the gossip of his friends, or his mail had been tampered with, for a few days before the date fixed for his arrival in Paris, a gendarme appeared at the Lafargue home to inquire if Monsieur Marx had arrived, he had something to say to him! Needless to say, Monsieur Marx did not

afford the Paris police the pleasure of a personal interview just then.

The other incident arose out of a visit to Germany at the end of the summer in company with his youngest daughter, Eleanor. Upon this occasion they visited Joseph Dietzgen, the tanner, spending several days at his home in Sieburg. Marx held the " tanner-philosopher " in high esteem as one who, working quite independently, had reached philosophical conclusions very similar to his own. In the preface to the second edition of the first volume of *Capital,* he paid a warm tribute to Dietzgen, whose work both he and Engels frequently praised. The visit to the proletarian thinker's home at Sieburg was greatly enjoyed by both visitors and their host.

The travellers also visited their old friends, the Kugelmanns, at Hanover. It is probably that this was one of the several occasions upon which he escaped arrest or molestation by the police through Herr Lothar Bucher's timely warnings. But although Bismarck's adviser and friend could protect his old associate in this manner, his influence did not extend to the postal service. Marx suspected that his mail was tampered with, and received convincing proof of the fact when a letter which he wrote from Hanover to Engels, who was in Manchester, was delivered in a state which proved that it had been opened and clumsily sealed again.

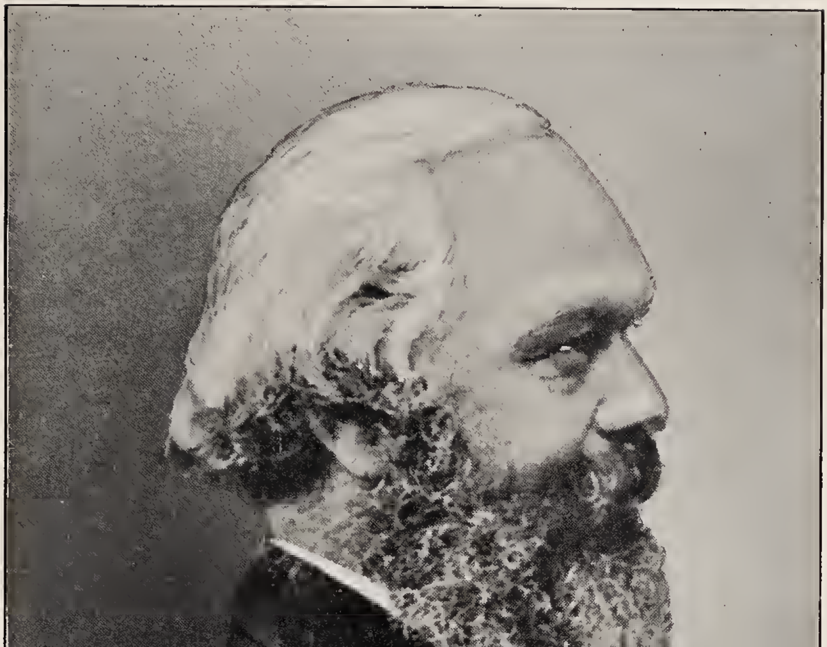
During this visit to Hanover, Marx had an interview with Herr Hamann, Secretary of the German Metal Workers' Trade Union, in which he expressed views concerning the relation of the trades unions to political parties which contrast in a very striking manner with the views held by many of his followers. The interview was published in the *Volkstaat,* and it is most likely that Marx saw the proofs of it prior to its publication, for he was usually very punctilious in such matters. In any case, the report was never corrected by Marx, as it certainly would have been had he regarded it as a misrepresentation of

his views. We may, therefore, attach to it practically the same importance as if it were a signed article from his own pen. According to Hamann, Marx said:

"The trades unions should never be affiliated with or made dependent upon a political society if they are to fulfil the object for which they were formed. If this happens it means their death blow. The trades unions are the schools for Socialism, the workers are there educated up to Socialism by means of the incessant struggle against capitalism which is being carried on before their eyes. All political parties, be they what they may, can hold sway over the mass of the workers for only a time: the trades unions, on the other hand, capture them permanently; only the trades unions are thus able to represent a real working-class party, and to form a bulwark against the power of capital. The greater mass of the workers conceive the necessity of bettering their material position whatever political party they may belong to. Once the material position of the worker has improved, he can then devote himself to the better education of his children; his wife and children need not go to the factory, and he himself can pay some attention to his own mental education, he can the better see to his physique. He becomes a Socialist without knowing it."

It has often been charged that Marx desired the utmost impoverishment and degradation of the workers in the belief that their misery and suffering would force them into the Socialist ranks. How far he was from that brutal thought the foregoing extract clearly shows. Just as twenty years before, in the *Communist Manifesto,* he had pointed out the utter unfitness for struggle of the "slum proletariat," so, in 1869, he laid stress upon the fact that improved material conditions, better education and physical development would be far more likely to lead the workers to Socialism than their opposites, a maximum of poverty and degradation.

Marx's attitude toward the trades unions, as set forth in the interview with Hamann, is diametrically opposed to that which many of his followers have seen fit to adopt. It would be both



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foolish and unfair to attempt to base an outline of the trades union policy Marx would favour to-day upon the sketch of his views reported by Hamann. It is, however, quite evident that Marx did not, in 1869, believe that the Socialists should start in opposition to the "pure and simple trades unions" already existing, new unions, pledged to the programme of the Socialist parties and holding loyalty to the political Socialist movement as a test of membership. His whole life, and not merely this isolated utterance, warrants the belief that he would have opposed such a policy, which from time to time some of his followers have adopted in his name.

On the other hand, it is a safe inference from this utterance, especially when considered in conjunction with the policy which he pursued during the greater part of his life, that Marx would have been just as much opposed to the policy of sending delegates to the trades union assemblies and conventions to beg the unions to endorse the Socialist party. Difficult as it may be to construct from his explicit utterances a definite statement of his thought concerning the character of the bond which should unite the trades unions with the political Socialist movement, it is very evident that he neither expected nor desired that the unions should be an appendage to the Socialist party. He would have resented as emphatically as any non-Socialist trades union leader the attempts, sometimes secret and sometimes openly avowed, to "capture the unions" which have at sundry times entered into the policy of some of his followers, especially in England and the United States.

The interview with Hamann has been frequently cited to prove that Marx believed that the trades unions should be strictly neutral upon all political questions, but all such attempts are disingenuous and misleading, as Kautsky and Bebel, among others, have shown. The interview itself shows that Marx believed in nothing of the sort, for he speaks of the trades unions as being "the schools for Socialism" and declares that it is they "who are to form the Socialist working-class party." It is

evident that he would have agreed with Bebel's saying that a union that was politically neutral in respect to any interest of its members would be " a knife without handle or blade."

That we may understand Marx's views upon this important question, and properly evaluate them in regard to present-day Socialist policies, it is necessary to understand the conditions which prevailed at that time, especially in Germany. The Lassallean organization, the Universal German Workingmen's Association, had from the first been opposed to the trades union movement, notwithstanding the fact that such men as Fritzsche, the cigarmaker, Luebkert, the carpenter, and Schob, the tailor, while prominent in the association, had formed powerful unions of the workers in their respective trades, and were constantly pleading for a closer and more harmonious relation between the political association and the unions. As a whole, the Association was opposed to and afraid of the unions. Its leaders held strictly to Lassalle's view that *only* political action could benefit the workers, that everything else meant a division of strength. Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor, seems assiduously to have cultivated this feeling in private, even while he sided publicly with Fritzsche. This hostility to the unions on the part of the Lassalleans continued right into the seventies, so that in 1872, at the convention of the association, a warning was given against " advancing the trades union movement at the expense of the political movement," and repeated at two subsequent conventions — at Frankfort-on-Main in 1873 and at Hanover in 1874. At the latter convention, those who had continued to push the trades union movement in spite of the warnings were by resolution branded traitors to the movement.

On the one hand, then, Marx had to confront the fact that the existing Socialist party was hostile to the trades unions, denied their importance as a means of working-class defence, and set up the panacea of cooperative production as being of far more importance. On the other hand, he saw that Max Hirsch and Max Duncker had formed trades unions, the Gewerk-Ver-

eine, as appendages to the Progressive Party. Under such circumstances what hope could there be of a united working-class party if the great mass of the workers were to be organized into trades unions either actively opposed by the political Socialist movement or controlled by a hostile political party? Such were the conditions in 1869, and we must bear those conditions in mind when we consider the bearing of the views Marx then expressed upon present-day Socialist policy.

Marx knew very well that the trades unions had been brought into existence as a result of the struggle which the wage-workers were forced to carry on against exploitation, a struggle which, while it leads the combatants into the field of government, politics and legislation, is always primarily an economic one, begun at the gate of the factory or workshop. As in the actual world of industry workers are employed without regard to religious or political convictions, so must they organize. To be effective, to attain the necessary comprehensiveness and solidarity, the trades union movement must embrace all workers, without regard to religious, political or racial divisions. Marx would have agreed with August Bebel that the trades union has no right to question its members as to their religious views or affiliations, or as to their political views or affiliations. He would have agreed that what political party the member joins is as much his private affair as what church he joins; that, therefore, the interests of the union demand that there be a complete cessation of bitter discussions upon questions of religious belief and party politics.[1]

Those conservative leaders of the trades union movements who have, in the interests of the solidarity of the trades union movement, long insisted upon the observance of these principles have been, even though they knew it not, far closer followers of Marx than those who in his name have tried to unite the trades union movement to the Socialist party, either by an or-

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[1] See Bebel's pamphlet, *Labor Unions and Political Parties.* (English translation by E. H. Thomas, 1906.)

ganic bond or a pledge of support. It is curiously significant of the manner in which the devotees of a special propaganda lose their sense of perspective that the very men who would denounce any attempt to introduce religious tests into the unions, upon the ground that it would weaken the solidarity of the members and divide them and weaken their powers, fail to see that the same argument applies to divisions created by the introduction of political differences.

Yet, let it be repeated, Marx did not believe that the unions could or should remain neutral upon political questions. He knew that in a constantly increasing degree the workers must depend for betterment of their conditions upon legislation. To such matters as factory legislation, accident insurance, employers' liability, old age pensions, the legal eight hour day, child labor laws, the protection of trades union funds, security of the right of combination, freedom from the crippling restraints of judicial usurpation, and many others, the trades unions cannot be indifferent. Neutrality upon such political questions is impossible for the unions, for they are too vitally concerned. Approval by the unions in their own interests of any or all the measures above enumerated — even though they might be found only in the programme of the Socialist party — would be very different from the endorsement of a political party, as such.

To sum up: Marx would have the unions freely discuss, not party politics bounded by the interests of parties of any kind, but the politics of their own immediate interests. He approved heartily of the resolution adopted by the trades union leaders at Gotha in 1875, immediately after the union of the Socialist factions, declaring that politics should be kept out of the trades unions, but that individual members were advised to join the Social Democratic Party, by which name the united Socialist party was known. There was, it must be admitted, something of a compromise in that resolution, for if the union advised its members as individuals to join the Social Democratic Party it was practically giving that party its endorse-

ment. Bebel, with his usual fine sagacity and candour, has recognized this fact, and at the convention of the German lithographers, engravers and allied trades, held in Berlin on the thirty-first of May, 1900, he bravely and frankly disavowed it. He declared upon that occasion that it was not the business of the union so to advise its members, who must be left free to find their way into the Socialist ranks as *citizens* rather than as *unionists.*

Bebel expressed the belief that the Socialist party is abundantly able to rely upon the power of Socialist ideas to attract the trades unionists. When the unions discuss freely at their meetings and in their press their political and social interests, the members of the unions can be relied upon to find out for themselves that the Socialist party is the only party which consistently promotes those interests. Slowly in many cases, perhaps, but very surely, they will find their way into the Socialist ranks. In that sense, he, like Marx, regards the trades unions as "schools for Socialism." While we may not say with certainty what attitude Marx would adopt were he alive to-day, it is very certain that the logic of his life and his profoundest thought lead us to Bebel's position.

No single event of the year 1869 gave Marx so much pleasure as the organization of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party at the Eisenach congress, which took place early in August. The congress was arranged by Liebknecht and Bebel for the purpose of forming a definitely Marxian party out of some disgruntled elements of the Lassallean organization and the members of unions affiliated with the International. In spite of bitter opposition from Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor, the congress was a great success and the aims of its promoters were fully realized. The founding of the new party atoned in some degree for the serious troubles which beset the International in that year, mainly owing to the pernicious activity of Marx's old antagonist, Michael Bakunin.

The year 1869 ended badly for Marx. Toward the end of

the year an unusually severe illness laid him low, and it was not until February of the following year that he was able to get out of doors. Even then it was several months before he could do any work upon the second volume of *Capital,* though Meiszner, the publisher, kept urging him to send the manuscript for winter publication. It is probable that he had been disappointed in the sale of the first volume and that this feeling tended to discourage work upon the second. He wrote to Kugelmann on the 27th of June, 1870: "Between ourselves, I should like to hear that a second edition was required of Volume I. This would make me hasten to write Volume II."

He did not dream then that he would never finish Volume II; that another hand than his own would have to complete it.

XI

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

At the corner of Endell Street and Long Acre, London, stands St. Martin's Hall. Devoted nowadays to commercial purposes, it was originally erected as a concert hall and later became the Queen's Theatre. For many years it was a favourite meeting place for conferences of various kinds, and many an important reform movement was initiated within its walls. It is probably not too much to say that the most important of all such gatherings ever held there was the meeting which took place on the 28th of September, 1864, at which the International Workingmen's Association was founded.

The actual foundation of the movement dates from the St. Martin's Hall meeting, but its roots go further back than that. In a way, it was a resurrection of the Communist League with a new declaration of principles in place of the old *Manifesto* of 1848. The old shibboleth, "Workingmen of all countries, Unite!" was retained in the new declaration as the slogan of the movement, and as one reads the Inaugural Address which Marx wrote for the association it is impossible to escape the conviction that he looked upon the new organization as a revival of the old one upon a vaster scale.

The events which led to the new effort to unite the European proletariat in one great organization must be taken into account if we would understand the history of the International. In 1862 the second Universal Exhibition was held in London. It brought together large numbers of business men from all parts of Europe, and as a result of their fraternizing at receptions and banquets and other gatherings there was developed a strong sentiment in favour of closer and more harmonious interna-

tional relations. *Entente cordiale* was the watchword of the moment, and the exhibition has been called " the International of the bourgeoisie " on that account.

England was then the unrivalled " workshop of the world," and the British mechanic was, in the minds of the capitalists of France and Germany, a pattern to be copied as closely as possible. It was natural, therefore, that sentiment should develop among the French capitalists in favour of inducing large numbers of French artisans to visit the English capital. It would be a splendid educational agency. The French workers would return to their homes with quickened ambitions, new ideas, and, above all, a respect for skilful workmanship which would prove of great economic advantage to France.

On the 29th of September, 1860, the *Progrès de Lyon* editorially urged the workingmen of Lyons to tax themselves to send delegates to the great industrial exhibition then being prepared in London. The idea " caught on," being taken up by the Parisian press with great enthusiasm. *L'Opinion Nationale* urged that the plan proposed in Lyons ought to be adopted in all the great industrial and commercial centres of France. This journal urged that, in addition to giving the French workers an opportunity to " observe for themselves the great artistic and industrial works to be seen in London," the result of such a mission would be to do away with international discord and rival jealousies.

The matter was brought to the attention of Napoleon III and he hastened to give the scheme his approval. It was declared that " the Imperial Commission would neglect nothing in order to obtain from the railroad companies the greatest facilities and exceedingly low prices " for delegations of workmen desirous of visiting England. Commercial organizations promoted the scheme, and *Le Temps* opened a national subscription for paying the travelling expenses of large delegations. No wonder that a Lyonese labourer should suspect a trap and

write to the *Progrès de Lyon* denouncing the scheme, speaking as one who feared the gift-bearing Greeks.

The French agitation was taken up in a half-hearted manner by the Germans. A few leading German manufacturers arranged to send delegations of their employés to the great exhibition "to gather as much useful knowledge as possible." Neither the French nor the German employers, apparently, thought of the possibility that the delegations of mechanics might learn other things from the British workingmen than mechanical skill and efficiency. Had the employers even dreamed that the workers they were sending to London would return inoculated with the virus of English trades unionism, they would not have been so ready to send them. Strange results were to come from the plan developed by the French bourgeoisie. A careful study of the history of the labour movement in France and Germany reveals the enormous influence of the fraternizing of the workers of the three countries which the Universal Exhibition of 1862 made possible.

Although Marx was at the time deeply engrossed in the dual struggle to make a living and to complete the first volume of *Capital,* he could not let the visit of these delegations of French and German artisans pass without making an attempt to promote among them a desire for an international organization of the proletariat, especially as he knew that among the visiting French workers were some who had formerly been connected with the Communist League. He set to work, therefore, to induce the leaders of the English trades union movement to arrange receptions and banquets for the visiting mechanics; to take a leaf from the book of the employers and use the occasion for the promotion of international goodwill among the workers.

English trades unionism was in a flourishing condition in the decade, 1860–1870, despite serious legal disabilities. At no period in its history has the trades union movement in England had so many capable leaders as during that decade. Among them

were Robert Applegarth, the keen and philosophical leader of the carpenters, who had built into one great structure the scores of petty local unions of that trade; William Allan, the shrewd, cautious, and methodical General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and George Odger, the Cornish shoemaker, who was the most brilliant orator of London radicalism and secretary of the London Trades Council. These three men, so splendidly harmonious in their gifts, dominated the trades union movement of England in the sixties. Marx did not always trust them fully, or agree with their policies, but he always recognized their abilities and, as far as possible, worked in harmony with them.

All through his life in London he kept in close touch with the leaders of the actual working-class movement, and he was especially friendly to Odger, whose magnificent oratorical powers, always enlisted on the side of the poor and the oppressed, he greatly admired. Many a meeting did he secretly promote, many a speech did he inspire — sometimes furnishing the speaker with arguments and facts. It was not at all unusual for men like Odger to apply to Marx for materials to use in public addresses. Always remaining in the background and letting others enjoy all the credit, his relations with trades unionists and radicals were most cordial. He possessed a most valuable aide in his friend and disciple, George Eccarius, the gifted tailor.

Eccarius was a native of Thuringia, and had been closely associated with the movement in Germany. Coming to London, he retained his connection with the movement, being one of the founders of the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein. Unlike so many of his fellow countrymen, Eccarius quickly adapted himself to English conditions. He did this as a matter of principle, believing that he owed it to the cause to make himself an efficient part of the working-class movement in the country in which he resided. Entirely self-taught, he mastered the English language, and in his polemical encounters with John

Stuart Mill he was by no means discredited. He took an active part in the trades union movement, and was a delegate to the London Trades Council. The trusted friend and ally of Marx and Engels, he naturally became a valuable connecting link between them and the English working-class movement.

Applegarth, Allan and Odger represented in their persons the thought and temper of the progressive workers. Thoroughly imbued with the radicalism of their time, that strange mixture of individualistic and collectivistic theories which was the aftermath of Chartism, they were the pioneers of the "New Unionism" of that time. They were the prime movers in the formation of central trades councils, and the consolidation of weak, rival unions into powerful ones. They led trades unionism out into the open road, so to speak.

When the "fête of the international fraternity of the workers" was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, on the 5th of August, 1862, Odger read the address of welcome to the French and German workers. Although it has often been claimed either that Marx wrote or that he at least sketched this address, it is almost certain that he had nothing to do with it, for anything more unlike his views it would be impossible to imagine. It was a very moderate address, far less radical than Odger's speeches generally were upon such occasions. After a felicitous welcome to the visitors, and some platitudinous moralising which must have seemed rather dull to the Frenchmen, the address continued:

"As long as there are employers and labourers, as there is competition between employers, and disputes concerning wages, union among workingmen will be their only means of safety.

"Concord between us and our employers is the sole means of diminishing the difficulties by which we are surrounded.

"The improvement of machines, which we see increasing on all sides, and the gigantic production which is the result of the application of steam and electricity, change every day the conditions of society. An immense problem is to be solved, that of the remuneration of labour. According as the power of the

machines increases, there must be less need of human labour. What will be done with those who are without work? Ought they to remain unproductive and as elements of competition? Should they be left to starve, or fed at the expense of those who work?

" We do not pretend to solve these questions, but we say that they must be solved, and that for this task it is not too much to demand the concourse of all, of philosophers, of statesmen, of historians, of employers, and workingmen from all countries.

" Many systems have been proposed for the solution of this problem; most of them have been magnificent dreams; but the proof that the truth has not been found is that we are still seeking it.

" We think that by exchanging our thoughts and our observations with the workingmen of different nationalities we shall discover most quickly the economic secrets of societies. Let us hope that now as we have clasped hands, as we see that as men, as citizens, and as labourers, we have the same aspirations and the same interests, we shall not permit our alliance to be broken by those who believe it for their interest to disunite us; let us hope that we shall find some international means of communication, and that every day will form a new link in the chain of love which shall unite the labourers of every country."

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts that the address was by no means a revolutionary one. Even the most conservative employers might have applauded its pious sentiments as vigorously as the delegates themselves. The workers had only followed the example of the business men in proclaiming their desire for amicable relations, and their avowal of concord between themselves and their employers gave no hint of storms to come.

Marx and Eccarius kept the idea of internationalism prominently before the minds of Odger and other English labour leaders, and when the great meeting to protest against the brutal suppression of the Polish insurrection was held in April, 1864, six French delegates were present. At this meeting a committee of English workmen was formed to send an " ad-

dress of fraternity" to their French brethren. The idea seems to have been that the French workers would send a deputation to make suitable reply to this address at a great mass meeting arranged for the purpose, and that the meeting would provide the occasion for the formal launching of an international union of workers, a sort of Anglo-French Labour Alliance.

Eccarius was a member of the committee charged with the foregoing arrangements, and one sees his hand in the subsequent developments of the plan, and suspects the inspiration of Marx. At one of its meetings the committee decided to broaden the scope of the meeting they were instructed to arrange, by inviting to it the workers of other nationalities, particularly Germany and Italy. It was no longer a movement to create an Anglo-French alliance, but to create an alliance of the workers of all lands.

For reasons which appear obvious enough in the light of what occurred at the meeting, the committee specially desired to get the cooperation of the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein, and a special resolution was adopted inviting that organization to join in the international meeting. The resolution expressed the "desire of the committee that Dr. Marx attend as a delegate." The reason for singling out Marx in this manner was undoubtedly the fact that he would not attend upon any general invitation. Unlike most propagandists, Marx was very sensitive in such matters; he had an instinctive dread of appearing in any manner to intrude anywhere. He had been similarly cautious, it will be recalled, concerning attendance at the Communist Congress in 1847.

The members of the Communistische Arbeiter Bildungsverein accepted the invitation and sent one of the most influential and honoured of their number, the faithful Lessner, to request Marx to attend, which he promised to do. Thus it was that the new International of the workers was from the first linked to the old International for which the *Communist Manifesto* was written. This was a most important factor

in the new movement, the fulcrum upon which the lever of Marxian thought rested. It made possible the supremacy of Marx.

The meeting was held on the 28th of September, 1864. Professor E. S. Beesly, the doughty champion of trades unionism and Positivism, presided. Mark did not know Professor Beesly at that time, but became intimate with him in later years, paying him the compliment of taking him into his confidence to the extent that was very uncommon. No better chairman for such a gathering could possibly have been found, nor was any man in England worthier. He made an address in which he recounted the events which had led up to the meeting, denounced militarism in all its forms, and made a noble and spirited plea for an international union of the workers against militarism and jingoism. These sentiments were cheered with fine enthusiasm by the audience, which consisted of the leading radicals of London, and of Frenchmen, Germans, Italians and Poles. Then a German choral society sang revolutionary songs, Odger read the address to the French workers ordered by the April meeting, and it was replied to by a French delegate, M. Tolain, an engraver.

Then another Frenchman, M. Le Lubez, aroused the enthusiasm of the audience by sketching the outlines of a plan for an international organization of the workers, to have branches in every European capital and a central directing authority in London. The form of organization which M. Le Lubez outlined was substantially followed. A resolution approving the scheme was proposed by an English trades unionist, named Wheeler, supported by Eccarius for the Germans; by M. Bosquet for the French; by Major Wolff, who was Mazzini's friend and secretary, for the Italians; and by an Irishman, named Forbes. The resolution was adopted with acclamation, and a committee chosen, including George Odger; George Howell, the historian of English labour movements; George Eccarius; J. Osborne, the Chartist; Benjamin Lucraft, a well-known

working-class politician; Major Wolff, and "Dr. Marx," whose name thus appears last in the report of the meeting. Thus was the International born.

Within a week from the time of its appointment, the committee met to discuss plans of organization, to draft a constitution, and to organize a provisional governing body. At the first meeting little was done except to add several members to the committee, form an Executive Council and open a subscription list, upon which exactly three guineas, or slightly more than fifteen dollars, was subscribed. The committee as enlarged constituted itself the General Council and consisted of fifty members, ten Germans, nine Frenchmen, six Italians, two Poles, two Swiss, and the remainder, twenty-one, English. At first the excessive preponderance of English representatives upon the General Council seems strangely undemocratic, but there are several facts to be considered. From the first it had been intended that the central organization should be in London, partly on account of the greater freedom, and partly also because England was the only country which had a really well developed labour movement, with competent leaders. The English unions were from the beginning the backbone of the International.

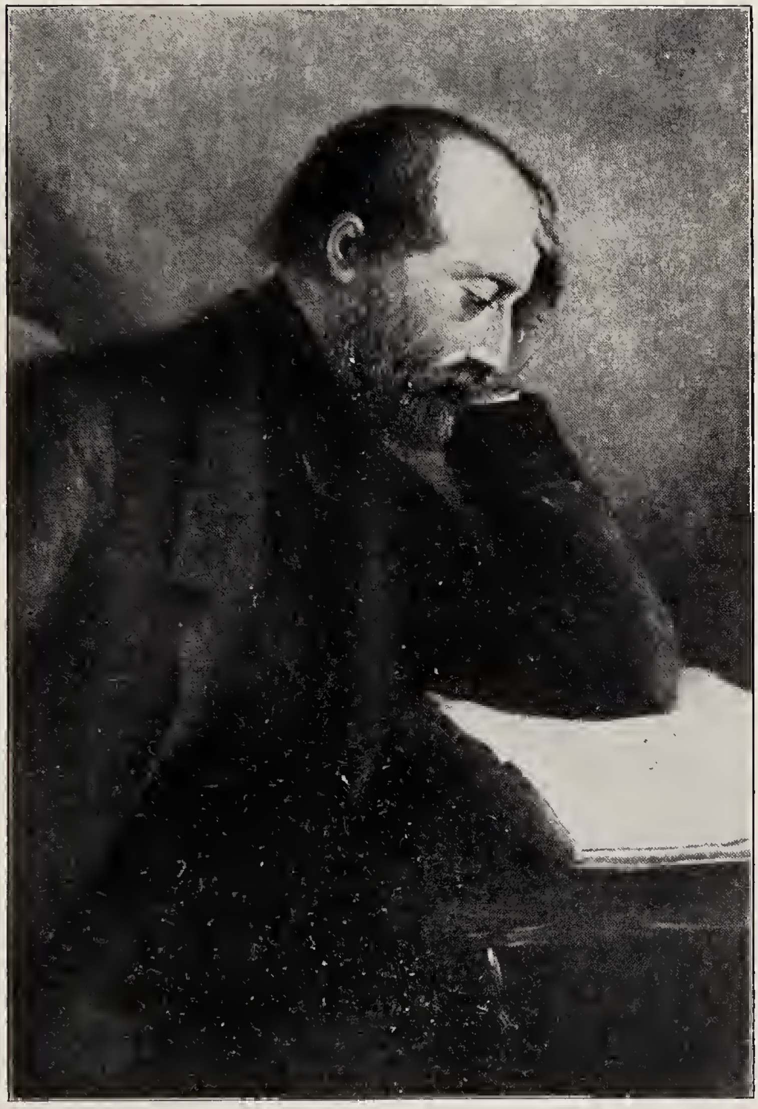
At the second meeting, held a week after the first, the name of the organisation was agreed upon — The International Workingmen's Association. A sub-committee was elected to draw up an Address, or statement of principles, and Rules for the association. And here began the first struggle for the mastery of the International. Giuseppe Mazzini, the famous Italian patriot, was exceedingly anxious to secure the adherence of the new organization to his principles. The Italian Workingmen's Association, Mazzini's organization, a secret conspiratory society, consisting of about four hundred members, was about to hold a congress at Naples, and it was Mazzini's hope that the new movement would become allied with it. Major Wolff accordingly urged the adoption of the rules of the Italian Work-

ingmen's Association, and their translation into such languages as might be necessary. He was not without support, for there were several of Mazzini's friends on the General Council.

The majority, however, voted against Wolff's proposal. The rules of the Mazzini organization were referred to the sub-committee, of which Marx was a member, for consideration, and Mazzini was invited to draft an Address, or "platform," as we should say in America, and submit it to the General Council for consideration in competition with that prepared by the sub-committee. Marx was the dominating force in the sub-committee. It was he who wrote the Address presented by the sub-committee, and it was he who wrote the Preamble and Rules. But Marx effaced himself completely, as usual, and Address, Preamble and Rules were all presented by others in the name of the sub-committee.

Mazzini's draft of an Address was not very well received by the majority, though it was not without admirers and supporters. That of Marx was greeted with loud applause, and it was from the moment of its reading clearly the favourite. After full discussion at two meetings Mazzini's draft was rejected by an almost unanimous vote, and that of Marx adopted with slight pruning. A few strong expressions relating to the war of the classes were stricken out, Marx wisely consenting. This was the wise, patient and far-seeing Marx who was fond of saying that a movement was "worth ten programmes," by way of rebuke to his doctrinaire disciples.

The rejection of Mazzini's draft occasioned much surprise and some bitter feeling. At Mazzini's instigation, the members of the Italian Workingmen's Association in London, who had been the very first to enroll themselves in the International, immediately withdrew from membership, bitterly denouncing the General Council for rejecting their leader's draft of an Address. For the rest of his life Mazzini was a bitter opponent of Marx. In 1871, addressing some Italian workmen, Mazzini



Giuseppe Mazzini

referred to the International and described Marx as "a German, a man of acute but destructive spirit, like Proudhon, of imperious temperament, and jealous of the influence of others. He believes strongly neither in philosophical nor religious truths, and, as I had reason to fear, hatred outweighs love in his heart, which is not right even if the hatred may in itself have foundation." Marx was perhaps less bitter in his opposition to Mazzini, but what he lacked in anger he more than made up in contempt.

After the adoption of his Address the victory of Marx was made complete by the adoption of the Preamble and Rules which he had written. He was the real, though unofficial, leader of the International, just as he had been of the old Communist League. Others might hold the offices and shine upon all public occasions, for these things he cared nothing whatsoever. He was satisfied to let others have all the glory and applause so long as he could rule. That he enjoyed the sense of power which his leadership gave him is certain. He enjoyed it and was content with it.

When it is read in the light of a full knowledge of the problems which confronted the new organization, the Inaugural Address is unquestionably a remarkable production, a splendid testimony to the wisdom of Marx, and to his possession of those qualities requisite in a leader of a great working-class movement. As far back as 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto,* he had written that the real fruit of the workers' battles "lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers." From the beginning of his revolutionary career that central idea of the necessity of an ever increasing union of the workers had dominated his thoughts and actions, urging him on. Because he recognized that actual union of the workers, politically and economically, was far more important than agreement to a dogma, he paid very little attention to theory in the Address, and aimed only to unite the workers, regardless of theories. A more astute declaration of principles was

probably never written. It shows the statesmanlike qualities of Marx's mind.

The Address opened with a review of social conditions since 1848. Wealth had been enormously increased since that year of revolutionary effort; colonies had been opened up, new inventions and discoveries made, free trade introduced, but misery was not a whit lessened; the contrast in the conditions of the classes was more marked than ever, and property was in fewer hands. In England the number of landowners had decreased eleven per cent. in the preceding ten years, and if this rate should continue the country would soon be ripe for revolution. While the Old Order was thus hastening to its doom, the New Order had made some progress. Thus, the Ten Hours' Act was " not merely a great practical result, but was the victory of a principle. For the first time the political economy of the bourgeoisie had been in clear broad day put in subjection to the political economy of the working class." Then, too, cooperation had been tried sufficiently to show that it was possible for the workers to carry on industries without the intervention of the employing class, and this had spread abroad the hope that, like slavery and feudal serfdom, wage-labour was a transitory and subordinate form, destined to be replaced by associated free labour.

The International had for its aim the promotion of this hope, and of this associated labour, not piecemeal and sporadically, but systematically, on a national scale, through the agency of the state. The working class must therefore acquire political power, the mastery of the state, and use it to obtain possession of the socially necessary means of production. To acquire this political power they must first of all unite; they possessed one element of strength, that of numbers, but success could be realized only through union, such as the International aimed to bring about. The workers must take an interest in international politics, watch the diplomacy of their governments closely, and uphold the simple rules of morality in the relations of pri-

vate persons and of nations. The Polish question, the struggle between the slaveholding South and the free men of the North in the United States, and the subjection of the Caucasus by Russia were referred to briefly and the Address concluded: "The struggle for such a policy forms part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; proletarians of all countries, unite!"

From this brief summary it will be seen that the Inaugural Address was a clear statement of practical policy based upon Socialist principles. There is no great essential difference between it and the *Manifesto* of 1848, except that it is more cogent. Marx had learned much since 1848, and was more of a practical politician. He had learned to concentrate attention upon the essential things — essential, that is, to the practical movement. Nothing else was worthy of attention. It is one of the strangest facts in connection with Marxian Socialism that so many of its advocates have been such narrow dogmatists and doctrinaires in opposition to the example of Marx himself.

Even more definite and explicit as a statement of Socialist principles is the Preamble to the Rules of the association, containing the declaration of the aims and purposes of the organization, to which all members must subscribe. The emancipation of the working classes can only be achieved by the working classes themselves; the struggle for this is not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but a struggle for equal rights and duties, and for the abolition of all class rule. The economic dependence of the worker upon the monopolists of the instruments of labour, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence. The economic emancipation of the workers is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated. All previous efforts to attain this end have failed because of a "want of solidarity between the various branches of labour in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes

of different countries." The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all the modern nations, and its solution "depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the most advanced countries." While the awakening of the proletariat in the industrial countries of Europe gave rise to new hope, it brought also its warning against old errors and its demand for "an immediate union of the movements not yet united." In view of these circumstances, the members of the International Workingmen's Association "recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed or nationality."

It was the end of October by the time these declarations were adopted by the General Council. Not until the Geneva congress, in September, 1866, after they had been in use for two years, were they approved by a congress of the association and so made official. In the meantime, as provisional declarations, they had been widely circulated in several languages.

One of the very earliest utterances of the General Council of the International was an address to the American people congratulating them upon the re-election of President Lincoln. The working-class admirers and friends of the great President, who had defended him in 1862-1863 against the attacks of Gladstone and the English middle-class Liberals in general, rejoiced at his success. Marx wrote the address of congratulation, which the General Council ordered to be sent to Mr. Lincoln through the American minister, Mr. Adams. The address is worth quoting here because it shows the high opinion of Lincoln which Marx held. The Civil War had drained the German workingmen's societies in America, largely composed of "Forty-Eighters," of their best men, completely destroying many of these societies; and among those who had enlisted in the Union cause were many of the personal friends of Marx, who was always proud of the part his expatriated countrymen took in the great struggle. For Lincoln his admiration was

almost unbounded. The address of the General Council was first published in the London daily newspapers of the twenty-third of December, 1864. It read as follows:

"*To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.*

"SIR: We congratulate the American people on your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the slave power were the reserved watchword upon your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is 'death to slavery.' From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class.

"The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slaveholder? When an oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the history of the world, slavery on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the Old Constitution' and maintained slavery to be a beneficent institution, indeed the only solution of the great problem of the relation of capital to labour, and cynically proclaimed property in man the corner stone of the new edifice; then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the frantic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labour, and that for the men of labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic.

"Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently, the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention importunities of their 'betters.' and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause. While the workingmen, the true political

power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted in the highest prerogative of the white-skinned labourer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The workingmen of Europe feel sure that as the American war of Independence initiated a new era of ascendency for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come, that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social work.

"Signed on behalf of the International Workingmen's Association,

"The Members of the General Council." [1]

We know from an article written by Marx in 1878, in reply to an article by George Howell, which contained many erroneous statements, that President Lincoln "in the most friendly fashion," replied to the address. Unfortunately, however, the reply seems not to have been preserved. At all events, the present writer has been unable to discover anything in the nature of an acknowledgment of the address beyond the formal note from Mr. Adams acknowledging its receipt and promising to forward it to the President. Less than four months from the date of the address of congratulation, on April 14, 1865, the great "single-minded son of the working class" was foully assassinated by Wilkes Booth. When the news reached England Marx manifested genuine sorrow and indignation. He speedily convened a meeting of the General Council and presented an address of condolence which was adopted and ordered to be sent to Lincoln's successor, President Johnson.

[1] *Life of Abraham Lincoln.* By A. J. Barrett; New York, 1865, pages 694–695.

At one of the first meetings of the General Council it was decided to hold the first congress of the association at Brussels, in September, 1865. Alarmed at the prospect, however, the Belgian government prohibited the holding of the congress on Belgian soil. Marx was notified that if the congress were held the government would enforce an old and almost forgotten law under which foreigners could be summarily expelled. The arrangements were hastily changed, therefore, and instead of the regular congress at Brussels, a special conference was held in London. Marx was present at this conference, and among others of note who attended were John Philip Becker and the famous Belgian Socialist, Cæsar de Paepe. The conference lasted three days — September 27-29 inclusive — and was attended by representatives from Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Poland and Switzerland. There was a great deal of misunderstanding and wrangling, and more than once did Marx play the rôle of peacemaker with success.

The questions debated at the conference included, international organization; combination of working-class organizations; trades unions, their history and future development; direct and indirect taxation; women's and children's labour; standing armies and their influence upon the interests of the working class; the Muscovite danger to Europe and the re-establishment of a free and united Poland. On the evening of the second day a grand soirée was held to celebrate the foundation of the International and the victory of the North in the American Civil War. Speeches were made by many of the delegates, all of them rejoicing at the triumph of the Northern cause and the abolition of slavery. Marx, speaking in German and French, eulogized the martyred President, declaring that "he was a martyr to our cause — the cause of freedom." He argued, as he had done in the address of congratulation upon Lincoln's reelection, that the defeat of the Southern slave-

holders was important to the working class of every nation in Europe.

One of the most heated debates of the London conference was upon the subject of religion. It has been frequently charged against Marx that he introduced this cause of contention, being anxious to have the association adopt an anti-religious attitude. Mr. George Howell, who was a member of the General Council, wrote in 1878 that Marx sowed the seeds of discord and ruin by the introduction of the religious question,[1] and many other writers have repeated the charge.

The statement is erroneous and misleading, however, as Marx pointed out in a criticism of the article by Howell, published in the *Secular Chronicle.*[2]

Even though it involves somewhat of a digression, it is perhaps worth while to consider somewhat in detail the attitude of Marx upon this question, both at the conference and afterward. The question was brought before the congress, not by Marx, but by one of the French delegates. The subject was not on the list of topics to be discussed, but the French delegate, who was an atheist of the most rabid type, persisted in discussing it and sought to place the conference on record as being irreconcilably opposed to all forms of religion. Marx pointed out that the conference could not fairly pledge the association in any such manner, it being in the nature of an informal gathering. To get rid of the question for the time, and to provide for its regular disposition by the next congress, he urged that in the agenda for the congress to be held at Geneva in the following year, the subject, " Religious ideas and their influence on social, political and intellectual movements " should be included. Against the opposition of Howell and other English delegates, the conference adopted this suggestion and the French delegates were charged with the task of introducing the

[1] In the *Nineteenth Century* (London), July, 1878.

[2] *Secular Chronicle,* August, 1878. The article can be found, in German translation, in the *Neue Zeit,* Vol. 20, 1901–1902.

subject at the Geneva congress. That is all the truth there is in the statement that Marx "introduced" the subject of religion and sowed the seeds of discord.[1]

Marx was not at the Geneva congress a year later when, after long discussion of the subject, the congress, on a motion by Odger, decided to proceed to "next business." Had he been present it is certain that he would have opposed that method of disposing of the subject. He would have endeavoured to get the congress to make a clear and unmistakable declaration of its position — a very different position from that desired by the rabid anti-religionists. Personally an atheist, he took the position which is to-day the recognized position of all the Socialist parties of the world, namely, that religious belief or non-belief is a private matter with which they are not concerned.

That this was the position which Marx always took can very readily and easily be proved. When, in 1869, the conflict with Bakunin reached its highest point, Marx opposed the *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste* almost as much for its atheistic plank as for its denial of political methods. The Alliance, formed by Bakunin, and controlled by him, had as one of its chief planks the following:

"The Alliance declares itself Atheist; it demands the abolition of all worship, the substitution of science for faith, and of human justice for divine justice; the abolition of marriage, so far as it is a political, religious, juridical, or civil institution."

What Marx thought of this Bakuninist programme with its "atheism dictated to its members as a dogma" may be seen from the letter which he wrote to his friend Bolte, American

[1] Mr. Howell's article teems with misstatements. For instance, the statement that the draft of the Address of Congratulation on Lincoln's re-election contained the phrase "God created all races with one blood," which was stricken out, is untrue. Marx certainly would not have written such a phrase, and we have his word that the address was adopted as he read it, without the slightest revision.

member of the General Council of the International, on November 23, 1871.[1] When the Alliance programme was published, the General Council of the International, upon the initiative of Marx himself, at once published a repudiation of it, censuring its authors.[2] And when a number of Swiss atheists applied for admission to the International with the name "Section of Socialist Atheists," they were rejected upon the ground that the association did not recognise "theological sections."[3]

That Marx was an atheist is undeniable, but he regarded the "professional atheists" with ill-concealed contempt, and nothing could well be farther from the truth than to represent him as a rabid anti-religionist. He was, in fact, most tolerant of the religious beliefs and opinions of others — perhaps because of the religious belief of his parents. He was fond of discussing the subject with his visitors and never failed to manifest sympathy with the great ethical principles underlying all religions — sympathy quite as strong as his own unbelief. Mr. Maltman Barrie, an English journalist with whom Marx and Engels were on very intimate terms, a member of the International, tells a story which illustrates the characteristic religious tolerance of Marx. Together with Barrie and a number of his German Socialist comrades, Marx attended the funeral of John Rogers, a prominent London radical and ex-Chartist, for whom he had entertained great affection. When the cortège reached Highgate Cemetery, Marx went with the sorrowing relatives into the little chapel, where a short religious service was held, manifesting throughout the greatest reverence.

His fellow Socialists, however, or most of them, refused to

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[1] A translation of part of the letter appears in the *International Socialist Review,* March, 1908. The complete letter is published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. and F. A. Sorge und Andere,* page 36.

[2] Vide letter to the *Eastern Post,* signed by John Hales, Secretary of the General Council, but really written by Marx, June 12, 1871.

[3] *Secular Chronicle,* August, 1878.

enter the chapel, remaining outside. When Marx came out and joined his friends at the chapel door, he was severely reproached by one of them, named Kaufman, for taking part in a religious service, an act which Kaufman regarded as a denial of principle. Marx replied, in effect: "To me these religious services are nothing. I have come here to give pleasure to my friends, and show my respect for Mr. Rogers. If it gives pleasure to my friends I will take part in their religious services, for, as I have said, the services are to me nothing. You, Mr. Kaufman, also profess that these things are indifferent to you, but your conduct contradicts your professions; for, whereas you have walked miles in the procession, you stand out of it when the chapel service comes. To me, on the contrary, they are truly indifferent, and therefore I take part in them if that will give pleasure to my friends." [1]

A materialist in his philosophy, Marx possessed an intensely spiritual nature and underneath his intellectual materialism there was always the urge of a great spiritual passion. Many of his so-called "orthodox" followers have failed to comprehend this. In their devotion to the materialism of the philosopher they have been blind to his deeply spiritual nature. Many of these "Marxists" have never paused to consider the significance of the fact that Marx made it an important count in his indictment of capitalism that it involved the "spiritual degradation" of the workers.[2] It is impossible to understand Marx without taking into account the spiritual struggles of his youth and his lifelong devotion to Dante. So great was his love for the great Divine Comedy that he could repeat canto after canto, almost the whole of it, in fact.

The cosmic spirit of Whitman appealed to him with great force. When he first heard of the "good gray poet," through W. Harrison Riley, he immediately became interested. He loved to repeat the lines:

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[1] Letter in *Justice* (London), October 24, 1896.

[2] In the Preamble to the Rules of the International, for example.

"All the past we leave behind;
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labour and the march,
Pioneers! O, Pioneers!"

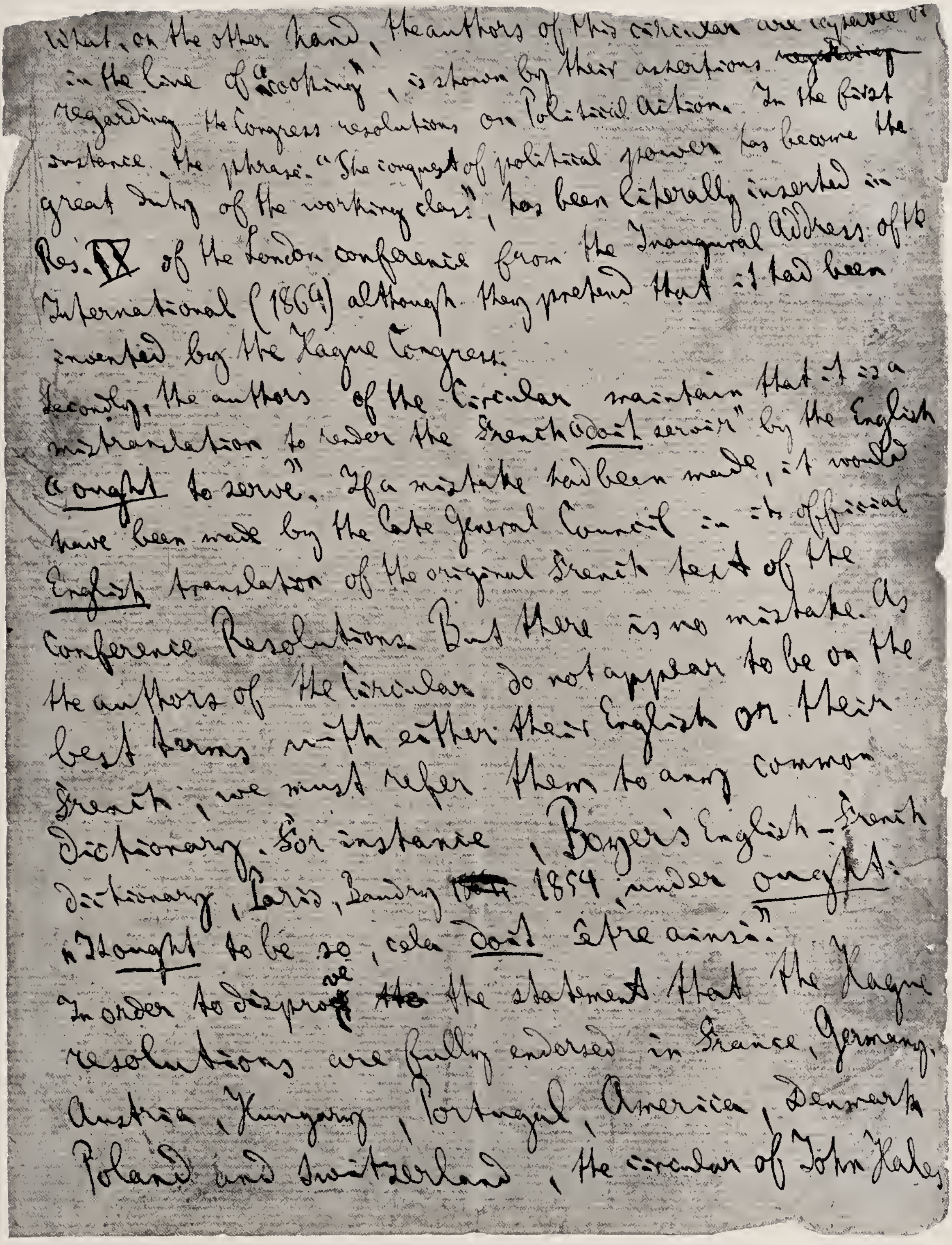
He committed to memory many lines from *Leaves of Grass*, and was fond of quoting such lines as —

"Speaking of miracles, a hair on the back of my hand is as great a miracle as any."

Taken in conjunction with the splendid idealism of his life, these things prove that Marx was a man of fine spiritual temperament, very different from the "crass and sordid" materialist he is often represented to have been.

As already noted, Marx did not attend the first congress of the International, which was held at Geneva the first week in September, 1866. He wrote to Kugelmann on the twenty-third of August, "I have been working, too, on account of the congress of the International at Geneva, but I am not going there, as it would be too great a hindrance to my work. I believe that I am doing far more good to the working class by my writings than I could by going to the congress." The value of this work was not appreciated by all the delegates at Geneva, however. Efforts were made to exclude him from the association which he had done more than any other man to create.

The cry of "Down with the Intellectuals" which was raised by demagogues against Marx and Engels in 1847 was again raised against them at Geneva in 1866. MM. Friburg and Tolain and several other French delegates, disciples of Proudhon, fought bitterly for the passage of a rule which would confine membership in the association to manual workers who were wage-earners, their motive being the exclusion of Marx and Engels. They were opposed by Odger, Eccarius, Becker and others, and eventually the motion was defeated by a large majority. The fanatical anti-intellectualism which in 1847



What, on the other hand, the authors of this circular are capable of in the line of "cooking", is shown by their assertions ~~regarding~~ regarding the Congress resolutions on Political Action. In the first instance, the phrase: "The conquest of political power has become the great duty of the working class", has been literally inserted in Res. IX of the London conference from the Inaugural Address of the International (1864) although they pretend that it had been invented by the Hague Congress.

Secondly, the authors of the Circular maintain that it is a mistranslation to render the French "doit servir" by the English "ought to serve". If a mistake had been made, it would have been made by the late General Council in its official English translation of the original French text of the Conference Resolutions. But there is no mistake. As the authors of the Circular do not appear to be on the best terms with either their English or their French, we must refer them to any common Dictionary. For instance, Boyer's English-French dictionary, Paris, Baudry ~~[illegible]~~ 1854, under ought: "It ought to be so, cela doit être ainsi."

In order to disprove ~~the~~ the statement that the Hague resolutions are fully endorsed in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Portugal, America, Denmark, Poland and Switzerland, the circular of John Hales

Facsimile of Karl Marx's Manuscript
(*From W. H. Riley*)

would have prevented Marx and Engels from writing the *Communist Manifesto* was still pursuing them.

Marx had, as he later wrote to Kugelmann, "great fears" about the Geneva congress, but they were not justified by anything that came to pass. The congress was a complete victory for Marx. Though he was not present, he dominated the congress through trusted representatives. Practically every important resolution adopted came from his pen, as did the brilliant manifesto of the General Council. Concerning this manifesto, Marx wrote to Kugelmann: "I purposely restricted it to such points as permit of an immediate agreement and cooperation of the workers, and give immediate nourishment and impulse to the requirements of the class struggle and the organization of the workers as a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of Proudhonistic phrases. They prate of science and know nothing. They contemn all *revolutionary* action, that is, such as springs from the class struggle itself, all concentrated social movement, which can therefore be forced through by *political* means as, for example, *legal* shortening of the working day."[1]

Only in the light of this frank and unequivocal statement which so clearly reveals his thought and purpose is it possible to understand Marx's policy in connection with the Geneva congress. The resolutions, with the exception of one relating to the class war, all dealt with very practical questions of immediate importance. They advocated raising the age limit for child labourers; regulation of women's labour by the state; the ten-hour day;[2] direct taxation in place of indirect taxation, such direct taxes to be levied mainly against the rich. Voluntary cooperative societies were approved, but it was pointed out that they could not materially aid in the solution of the social problem unless they were extended to production as well as to distribution. It was recommended that all cooperative societies devote part of their profits to propaganda purposes, and

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[1] *Die Neue Zeit,* 1902, II, 62-63.

[2] As against an amendment in favour of the eight-hour day.

that special care should be taken not to fall into the methods of capitalist employers. This programme makes it perfectly clear that Marx was far from adopting the doctrinaire attitude common to many of his disciples. His aim was to create a powerful movement of the workers, not a cult or sect bound to fixed dogmas. It is rather remarkable that, during recent years, as the Socialist parties in various countries have devoted increasing attention to the promulgation of practical reforms, and less to theory, they have been charged with the " abandonment of Marxism." The truth is that they have thus become more truly Marxian, not less so.

The adoption of the Inaugural Address and the Preamble and Rules which he had written two years before, and the passage of all the important resolutions which he had drafted for the congress, gave Marx great pleasure and satisfaction. It is questionable, however, if the pleasure and satisfaction which these things afforded equalled that which he experienced when, during the Geneva congress, word came from America that the first convention of the National Labor Union, at Baltimore, had been successfully held, and that resolutions similar to those adopted at Geneva were passed.[1] With his irrepressible optimism Marx believed that this signified the rapid spread of the International over all the United States.

The Geneva congress instructed the General Council to prepare and publish an official report of the proceedings. The report was to be written by Marx. Since it was not considered safe to entrust the minutes and the mass of papers and memo-

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[1] Morris Hillquit, in his admirable *History of Socialism in the United States,* argues, on page 185, that the similarity of resolutions was due wholly to the " similarity of the conditions of the working men on both sides of the Atlantic." That any such similarity of conditions existed is, to say the least, very doubtful. A letter from Marx to Kugelman, dated October 9, 1866, indicates that Marx had sent copies of the Geneva resolutions to America — probably to Weydemeyer and Edward Schlegel — the latter a German Socialist of great ability who took a prominent part in the Baltimore convention.

randa necessary to the mails for transmission, one Jules Gottraux, a native of Switzerland, who was a naturalized British subject, was commissioned to deliver them personally to Marx. At the French frontier Gottraux was arrested by the French police and liberated only after his papers had been confiscated. The General Council first applied direct to the French Minister of the Interior for the return of the papers, and, when that request failed, to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Stanley, asking him to secure their return. The British Ambassador in Paris was at once instructed to demand the return of the papers and in a few days they were returned through the Foreign Office. But the French government soon found other ways of attacking the International.

The first practical test of the association took place soon after the Geneva congress. A series of important strikes took place in France and England, and Marx seized upon the opportunities thus afforded to prove the practical value of an international solidarity which had been generally regarded as having only sentimental value. When the bronze-workers of Paris went on strike Marx saw to it that steps were taken to collect funds for their support from their English comrades, the English workers responding to the appeal for aid most generously. Within a few months the London tailors were engaged in a vital struggle, and Marx saw his opportunity to appeal to the workers of the Continent to support in their turn the English workers and so demonstrate once more the practical worth of international solidarity. The victory of the workers in each case was no doubt aided by this activity of the International.

To deal in detail with all the strikes of importance in which the International played an important rôle in assisting the workers during the next five years would exceed the limits of our present study. Suffice it to say that Marx seized upon every possible opportunity to make the organization of practical worth to the workers in all their struggles. The result was that a legend grew up which connected the International with

every strike upon the Continent, whether big or little. As soon as workers went out on strike anywhere the International was blamed. It was said in the newspapers, and widely believed, that the International was a secret conspiratory society, at the head of which was the terrible Marx, who had written a very wonderful book in mystic language only to be learned by the initiated. With millions of dollars at their disposal, the emissaries of this society plotted revolution and compelled innocent workers to go out on strike, sealing their lips with fear. As a matter of fact, the International was not in any manner connected with the majority of these strikes.

The second congress was held at Lausanne, Switzerland, during the first week of September, 1867. Among the most notable of the delegates on this occasion were Ludwig Buchner, the celebrated philosopher, author of *Force and Matter;* Cæsar de Paepe; Dr. Kugelmann; John Philip Becker; C. Longuet, who married Marx's eldest daughter, Jenny; Eugene Dupont; Karl Bürkli; James Guillaume, the friend and confidant of Bakunin; George Odger; and Alfred A. Walton, an old Welsh Chartist. The congress was chiefly remarkable for the struggle that took place between the Marxists and the Proudhonists. Marx himself was not present, but he was ably represented by Kugelmann, Eccarius, Lessner, and other trusted friends.

As Lessner long afterwards expressed it, "the Marxists were chiefly concerned to save the congress from making the movement ridiculous." The Proudhonists were very anxious to secure endorsements for various schemes — "social quack nostrums," as Marx contemptuously dubbed them. Guillaume had a system of phonography for which he sought the approval of the congress, and seemed to be astonished when Longuet and Lessner opposed him and said that phonography was a subject for grammarians and graphologists, not for a labour congress. But Guillaume was supported by a number of his colleagues, fellow disciples of Proudhon, who submitted resolu-

tions in favor of simplified spelling, quite *à la Roosevelt,* and Proudhon's scheme for a universal language.

They also submitted resolutions in favour of currency reform which have a familiar ring for American ears. They contended that the "gold monopoly" enabled the capitalists to oppress the workers, and so advocated "free credit" and a paper currency. The workers were to use the paper money exclusively and so, eventually, it would be the universal medium of circulation and utterly destroy the gold monopoly. The Marxists managed to defeat all these resolutions, but such was the fear of the state on the part of many delegates that the congress, much to the chagrin and disgust of the English delegates, passed a resolution declaring that the state should not undertake the education of children, except in individual cases, where the father was incapacitated.

An incident of the congress was a sort of informal debate upon the merits of the teachings of Lassalle and Marx respectively. The debate took place in the grand hall of the Casino. An eloquent and scholarly lecture upon Lassalle and his theories was delivered by Dr. Buchner, who was replied to by Eccarius in a masterly exposition and defence of the Marxian theories. This speech took two full hours, during which time Eccarius held the unusually critical audience spellbound. In repose, Eccarius looked heavy and lethargic, but upon the platform, when fully aroused, his eyes flashed fire and burning, impassioned words fell from his lips, slowly, but with magnetic effect. An inveterate snuff-taker, he availed himself of every pause occasioned by the applause of his audience to take a pinch, and by the time he had finished, his long beard was plentifully sprinkled with snuff! Lessner, who was one of the very few men present whose oratorical abilities could be compared to those of Eccarius, told the present writer, thirty years afterward, that he had never heard Socialism so eloquently expounded, nor the German language so beautifully spoken.

Marx, who knew the intentions of the Proudhonists, was anxious concerning the outcome of the congress at Lausanne, but he was even more anxious concerning another congress which met at Geneva a few days later, and which was attended by an old antagonist of his, the man who was so soon to challenge his supremacy in the International. The congress was the congress of the League of Peace and Liberty, and the man was the Russian revolutionary lion, Michael Bakunin.

Owing to the fact that his cousin, Count Mouravieff Aminski, was Governor-General of Siberia while he was a prisoner there, Bakunin had enjoyed exceptional privileges. He was permitted to travel freely all over Siberia and found no difficulty in escaping by way of Japan in 1861. Travelling by way of Yokohama, San Francisco and New York, he reached London at the end of December, 1861, and joined his friend Herzen. He was in London when the International was founded, and soon afterward called upon Marx for an explanation of its scope and plan. Marx explained the aim of the organization and its methods, and Bakunin at once pledged himself to join it and work for its success. Before he left London Bakunin received from Marx one of the very earliest copies of the Inaugural Address and the provisional rules, concerning which he wrote Marx a most enthusiastic letter. He did not, however, fulfil his pledge to join the International and work for its success. For nearly three years little was heard from him.

He turned up at the Geneva congress of the League of Peace and Liberty in September, 1867, and made a brilliant speech which gave him great prestige and fairly entitled him to share the honours of the congress with Giuseppe Garibaldi, who was the lion of the hour, acclaimed by shouting crowds and worshipped by richly gowned ladies who literally burned incense at his feet! Many of the delegates of the International journeyed from the congress at Lausanne to the peace congress at Geneva to greet Garibaldi, who took advantage of the occasion to assure them of his agreement with their position. To Eu-

gene Dupont he said in reply to a challenging question, "I agree with you. . . . Death to the triple tyrannies — political, religious and industrial! Your principles are my own!"[1]

After the congress of the league, Bakunin became a member of its General Committee and at once attempted to dictate its policy. He found, however, too many effective opponents to enable him to rule the movement, and the old charge that he was a paid spy of the Russian Government was revived by some of the opponents, causing much bitterness of feeling. By the time the next congress of the league took place, in September, 1868, Bakunin had become so embittered by his failure to control its policy that he decided to resign publicly. At the congress he made a bitter speech, vehemently attacking the members of the League of Peace and Liberty, and was expelled without the option of resignation. Apart from its invective, it must be said that Bakunin's speech was rather a tame affair. He proposed a programme advocating the "equality of classes" and the abolition of the right of inheritance as the beginning of a social revolution. Defeated, he withdrew from the league with a small group of his followers and at once cast greedy eyes upon the International.

The 1868 congress of the International had taken place at Brussels a few days before the congress of the League of Peace and Liberty. Ninety-six delegates attended, representing Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Spain. Great progress was reported, and the European press devoted much attention to the proceedings. The London *Times* editorially declared that "one must admit that since the time of the establishment of Christianity and the destruction of the ancient world, one has seen nothing like this awakening of labour." Historically considered, the Brussels congress is chiefly notable for the renewal of the Marx-Proudhon struggle.

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[1] *Garibaldi and the Socialists.* By J. H. Harley. *The Socialist Review* (London), July, 1908.

Marx had foreseen this and with his usual caution tried to guard against the success of the Proudhonists by carefully instructing Eccarius, Lessner, and others among his followers. But in spite of the heroic efforts of such valiant fighters as these, and Marx's old colleague, Moses Hess, and owing to the preponderance of Belgians and Frenchmen present, the Proudhonists had rather the advantage and the Marxists were compelled to make many important concessions to them in order to avoid a split.

A letter from Bakunin, referring to the peace congress at Berne, and seeking the support of the International for his programme, brought him for the first time into open and official touch with the supreme authority of the International Workingmen's Association. The congress had before it the terrible possibility of a war between Germany and France, so that the attitude of the association to war was a matter of the most vital importance. Three delegates were elected to attend the peace conference at Berne, and a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring that " war is only a means to bring the people under the yoke of the privileged class . . . that it strengthens despotism and strangles liberty . . . that war has for its chief cause the want of an economical balance, and, therefore, can be removed only by social reform . . . the congress raises, therefore, . . . a protest against war, it requests all the sections of the association, as well as all labour societies and associations, of whatever kind they may be, to work in their respective countries . . . to prevent war between peoples, which really is only a civil war, a fight between brothers and comrades." As a practical method of preventing war, the congress advocated a general strike of the workers. " Reckoning on the spirit of solidarity among the workmen of all countries, the congress hopes that their help will not be wanting in this strike of the people."

The congress also adopted a motion, proposed by the German delegates, congratulating Marx upon the publication of the first



Pierre Joseph Proudhon



Michael Bakunin

volume of *Das Kapital,* declaring that he was "the first economist who had undertaken a scientific analysis of capital, and had resolved it into its primitive parts." This was doubtless intended rather as an advertisement for the book than as a declaration of serious importance to the International.

XII

THE "INTERNATIONAL" (CONTINUED)

VERY shortly after the Brussels congress and his expulsion from the League of Peace and Liberty, Bakunin became a member of the International by joining the *Branche Romande* at Geneva. No sooner had he entered the International than he began his campaign to secure control of the movement which so speedily led to its disruption. He formed the *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste,* an organization within the organization, through which he hoped to become master of the International. The Alliance, while nominally a branch of the International, had a programme of its own, including the "equality of classes." Not only had the Alliance a programme conflicting with that of the International, which aimed at the *abolition* of classes — but it was to be an international organization, with branches in every country of Europe and a separate Central Committee at Geneva, where Bakunin resided. These branches were to be affiliated with the International and represented at its next congress, at Basel. But they were also to have a separate congress of their own, previous to that of the International, and also maintain their own official papers. Bakunin had managed to get control of *Égalité,* one of the organs of the International, and James Guillaume, one of Bakunin's most fanatical supporters, conducted a small paper at Locle for the Alliance, named *Le Progrès.*

Bakunin had observed the greatest secrecy concerning his new organization, and it was not until plans had been perfected and various branches started that Marx learned anything positive and definite concerning it. Of course it was at once obvious that if the General Council recognized the Alliance as a branch

of the International, and the right of the Alliance branches to representation at the International congresses, nothing could break Bakunin's power. Very promptly, therefore, the General Council issued a strongly worded, but scrupulously polite and impersonal, statement to the effect that it refused to recognize the Alliance and repudiated its programme. The statement condemned the Alliance as a scheme for the disorganization of the International.

Although it would seem to an ordinary person that the General Council could not have been expected to do anything else, Bakunin was apparently taken completely by surprise at the swift action of that body. It was some weeks before the Central Committee of the Alliance replied to the General Committee of the International, stating that, "for the good of the cause," it would sacrifice its existence, but only on condition that the International would recognize the "main principles" of the Alliance. This the General Council refused to do, insisting that no section should have a programme which conflicted with that of the association. It was apparent that in the duel between the German and the Russian the former was the more certain of his ground.

Bakunin and his followers bitterly denounced Marx as a despot and a middle-class Intellectual, but bowed to the decision of the General Council. The Alliance was dissolved and all its branches disbanded. Then they were immediately reorganized as branches of the International. Of course, this was a mere farce; the Alliance was as much a power for evil after the dissolution as before it. Marx knew this quite well, but under the rules there was no ground upon which these reorganized branches could be kept out of the International. Marx knew, too, that Bakunin, who was a great intriguer, would resort to other, less direct, methods to gain his end.

In a little while the local committee of the International at Geneva, of which Bakunin was a member, requested the General Council to include in the programme of the next congress at

Basel, the question of inheritance. In this apparently innocent request Marx saw masked the evil intentions of Bakunin. Abolition of the right of inheritance was a prominent feature of the programme which Bakunin had formulated at the peace congress at Berne. If it were adopted by the International congress at Basel, on his motion, the event would be hailed as a great victory for Bakunin and it would be easy for him to secure the removal of the headquarters of the association to Geneva, where he could effectually control it. Marx checkmated this move by drafting a resolution on the subject, which Bakunin could not refuse to support since it was in complete harmony with his position, and having it presented in the name of the General Council. By this astute move he placed his rival in the position of having to support him, for that is what was really involved.

The Basel congress was held in September, 1869. For the first time Bakunin appeared as a delegate. The United States sent its first representative in the person of A. C. Cameron, a bombastic individual who gave the most ridiculously exaggerated account of the strength of the movement in America. Another who attended for the first time was Wilhelm Liebknecht, fresh from the successful launching of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of Germany. Marx, as usual, was absent. Among the delegates were Cæsar de Paepe, Robert Applegarth, Moses Hess, Herman Greulich, John Philip Becker, George Eccarius, Frederick Lessner, and Herman Jung. Altogether, there were seventy-eight delegates, representing Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and the United States of America. The country with the largest delegation was France, with twenty-six delegates, Switzerland coming next with twenty-three.

The large number of French and Swiss delegates was due, partly at least, to the activity of Bakunin, whose over-confidence as to the result of the struggle with Marx led him to play right into the hands of his rival. Eccarius, on behalf of the General

Council, proposed that the congress should give the General Council the power to expel immediately any section contravening the principles of the association, without waiting for the consent of the annual congress. Marx wanted the additional power in order to crush Bakunin. A strange thing occurred: Bakunin, the Anarchist and anti-authoritarian, who had so often denounced the "despotism" of Marx, and complained of the power vested in the General Council, supported the motion quite as vigorously as Liebknecht did. Not only that, but he went much farther; he contended that the General Council should also have power to prevent the formation of new sections if they deemed such action desirable, and to suspend existing sections at any time!

Bakunin's action caused the greatest wonderment and consternation, alike among the Marxists and his own followers. What could such inconsistency mean? Why, simply that Bakunin believed that his supporters certainly outnumbered the supporters of the General Council, that is, of Marx. He believed that the overthrow of Marx was certain, and the centralization of power in the hands of the General Council would enable him to maintain control of the organization. Thus Marx would be "hoist with his own petard"— a fate which, as we know now, was Bakunin's own.

Soon after the Basel congress the International reached the zenith of its power. Persecuted in several countries, the more it was persecuted the more it grew. The Austrian government used every means in its power to break up the sections of the International in that country, but the only result was to make the association flourish. In Holland the movement spread like a prairie fire, and the government, thoroughly alarmed, tried to stop its progress by persecuting its leaders, with the usual result. In France and Switzerland the movement grew with great rapidity, despite the frantic efforts of the authorities to check it. The press of Europe manifested clearly enough the alarm of the master class. "Europe will soon be controlled by

these revolutionists " was the burden of many an editorial. But in a little while ominous clouds darkened the horizon. Within a few months the powerful International, which seemed so likely to conquer Europe, was to be greatly weakened and compelled to strain all its energies merely to maintain its own existence, like a giant gasping for breath.

The first serious menace to the International from without occurred when the red shadow of war spread over Europe. The throne of Spain was empty, made vacant by revolution, and a Hohenzollern prince aspired to fill the vacancy. Then the Emperor of France, Napoleon III, whose head was turned by the enthusiasm with which his Liberal Empire had been received, thought to strengthen his position by picking a quarrel with Prussia over the question of the Spanish throne. France will never permit a German sovereign to reign at Madrid, was Napoleon's word to the King of Prussia, William I. And when the Prussian King replied that his cousin had withdrawn his candidature, Napoleon demanded from him a promise that he would never permit the candidature to be renewed. The war fever raged on both sides of the Rhine, and the unscrupulous Bismarck, through his agents, cunningly stimulated it — in France as well as in Prussia. He saw, as many careful observers had done since Sadowa, that war with France would probably lead to the consolidation of a united Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty. He saw, too, that France was wholly unprepared to wage war with Prussia. But France was war-mad, as the debates in the Corps Législatif, in July 1870, very plainly showed. On the 19th of that month war was declared against Prussia by Louis Napoleon and his prime minister, M. Emile Ollivier, who boasted that he entered upon the war with a " light heart."

The war proved a serious obstacle to the International, for several reasons. The war spirit which prevailed in both countries made it impossible to carry on the propaganda of the association in those countries, and, to some extent, in other coun-

tries where the war absorbed popular attention. As might be expected, the members of the International were sharply divided upon the question of the policy to be adopted. The division was well illustrated by the attitude of the Socialists in the North German Reichstag. Liebknecht and Bebel refused to vote for the war estimates, notwithstanding that the war had been forced upon the country by France. On the other hand, Fritzsche, Hasenclever and Schweitzer voted for the estimates. They held that the victory of Napoleon would mean the destruction of Germany and be a serious blow to the workers of both countries. The Brunswick Committee issued an appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to fight as Germans for the defence of Germany, while, on the other hand, great mass meetings held in various cities protested against the "jingoism" of the Brunswick manifesto and declared that the workers could not support any war, under any circumstances.

It was for Marx a very trying situation. The General Council could not avoid making some pronouncement upon the question of the war, outlining a policy for the workers, and no matter what its position might be it was bound to give offence in one or the other country, or to one or another group of members. And of course any declaration issued by the General Council would be the declaration of Marx himself. Without being in any way a jingo, Marx was, as we know, a German of the Germans, and as ardent an advocate of German unity as Bismarck himself. He also detested Napoleon III and most of his ministers. He held, naturally, the German view that the war was, for Germany a defensive one. His position was substantially that of Fritzsche, Hasenclever and Schweitzer, rather than of Bebel and Liebknecht. Had Marx been in the Reichstag he would most certainly have voted with the former group in favour of the war estimates.

On July the 23rd the General Council issued a manifesto, written by Marx, declaring that the war was one of defence so far as Germany was concerned. With rare prescience it warned

the working class of Germany against the danger of the war eventually ceasing to be one of defence merely, and becoming one of offence against the French people, to the great injury of the working classes of both nations. How wise that admonition was will be perceived by all who are familiar with the history of the Franco-Prussian struggle. The beginning of September witnessed the crushing defeat of the French at Sedan and the capture of Louis Napoleon. Then, on the fourth of the month, the Republic was provisionally proclaimed and General Trochu became President where Louis Napoleon had been Emperor. It was recalled that the congress of the International in accordance with the Basel resolution, should have been in session in Paris that day.

Here, then, was opportunity for an honourable and immediate peace. Prussia had accomplished her defence; if the war continued it could not be urged that the Prussians were fighting a defensive battle, for the government of the Third Republic had begged for peace. It argued that the government which had precipitated the unholy war had been swept away by the wrath of the people; that the Republic could not be held responsible for the misdeeds of the Empire; that the Prussians had gloriously accomplished their defence and attained their ends. On the fifth of September Marx wrote to the Brunswick Committee a manifesto addressed to the working class of Germany, urging the conclusion of an immediate and honourable peace, reminding them that the war was originally for defence and not for conquest. Four days later the authorities dissolved the Brunswick Committee and had the members of the committee taken in chains to the fortress of Boyen.

On that same day, the ninth, the General Council addressed an appeal, written by Marx, to all sections of the International, protesting against the proposed annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and the policy of conquest in general. For circulating this address many German workmen were imprisoned, but it had a wholesome effect in that it provided the cue for the sections of

the International throughout the world. Great mass meetings were held throughout France and Germany, as well as in Austria, England, Italy and the United States, all protesting against the policy of conquest and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. And as the war continued and Paris was kept under siege, the members of the International once more were united, and the Socialist members in the Reichstag voted as a unit against the war estimates.

At last Paris capitulated and the preliminaries of peace were agreed to at Versailles, on the 29th of January, 1871, and the Prussian flag flew triumphantly on the forts of the city. In addition to a money indemnity of two hundred millions sterling France was to cede the entire province of Alsace, excepting Belfort, and a large portion of Lorraine. A cry of indignation sounded through the land against terms of peace so humiliating. Nevertheless, in the elections which were held for the purpose of ratifying the terms of peace a National Assembly was elected which was strongly clerical and monarchical. The provinces rolled up an enormous reactionary vote, but Paris remained republican and progressive.

Not content with fulfilling its mandate of settling the terms of peace, the reactionary National Assembly at once began to scheme for the overthrow of the Republic and the restoration of the monarchy. Republican Paris soon manifested its displeasure — and the reactionary government of the *pacte de Bordeaux,* with M. Thiers at its head, knew that Paris was armed, for, in arranging the surrender of Paris, Jules Favre had stipulated that the Parisian National Guard should not be disarmed. Favre knew well that any attempt to disarm the National Guard of Paris would be resisted and that it was not impossible for such resistance to upset the peace plans completely. And now this armed force in Paris was the chief obstacle the reactionaries had to encounter.

As soon as the business for which it was elected — the ratification of the peace treaty — was concluded, the reactionary

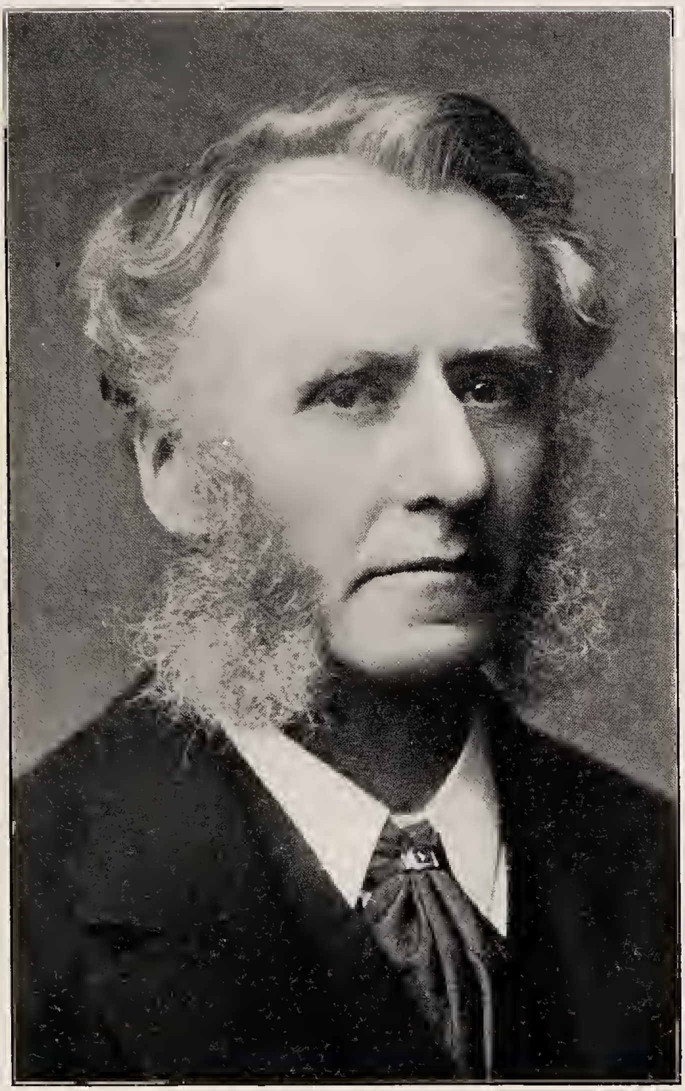
National Assembly determined to continue its functions as a legislative body in defiance of the limitations of its mandate. It insulted the Paris representatives, ordered the suppression of the radical republican papers, and passed a resolution to remove the capital from Paris to Versailles. In consequence of these things, quite naturally, local patriotism joined hands with revolutionary passion, and the chauvinistic and radical elements made common cause against the government of M. Thiers. From the beginning of February to the middle of March there was a growing sentiment in favour of an independent, autonomous Paris. The cry was for the Commune, for complete "home rule." And when, on the morning of the 18th, the disarmament of Paris was begun at Montmartre, the National Guard rallied to the defence of the city against the national government; civil war had begun.

The Commune of Paris was therefore not, as many ignorant critics of Socialism suppose, an experiment in Socialism.[1] It was the revolt of a city of republicans against a nation of monarchists; an attempt to create a city-republic, bound to the rest of the nation by the loosest of federal ties, after the ancient manner. The movement drew together the following elements: (1) The fatuous chauvinists who opposed the treaty of peace with Prussia, indulging the vain hope of driving back the Prussians and rehabilitating the military honour and glory of France; (2) the bourgeois republicans, determined to protect the Republic from the monarchist reaction; (3) the Radicals and Socialists, mainly represented in the International, who also wanted to preserve the Republic, equally with their bourgeois allies, but for a larger purpose.

It will be seen, therefore, how inevitable it was that the International should be drawn into that terrible civil war which involved such frightful suffering and carnage. Just what the

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[1] Mr. Roosevelt, for example, speaks of Socialism as having been "tried" in France "under the Commune in 1871." The *Outlook*, March 20, 1909.



E. S. Beesly

share of the International in the Commune was has puzzled most historians, alike of the Commune and of the International. It has been contended that the Commune was the creation of the International, and, on the other hand, that the International had little or nothing to do with it. The truth of the matter lies midway between these. From the very first, the International section in Paris played a not unimportant part in the revolutionary movement. From the first, too, the General Council gave the insurrection its hearty support, and, through Marx, important advice, which, had it been followed, might very possibly have averted the most terrible features of the great struggle. From a letter of Marx to Professor Beesly, written soon after the fall of the Commune, we learn that, before the actual outbreak of war, Marx advised the Central Committee to fortify the northern hills of Montmartre, facing the Prussians. And later on, on the very next day after the secret meeting of Bismarck and the two envoys of M. Thiers — MM. Favre and Pouyer-Quertier, the latter a wealthy cotton-spinner of Rouen — on the tenth of May, at which the treaty of peace dictated by Bismarck was signed, he informed the leaders of the already dying Commune of the facts.

Although at first the Radicals and Socialists of the International played a rather subordinate — though not unimportant — part in the Commune, as the weeks of struggle and suffering wore on, the bourgeois elements weakened and left more and more of the work and sacrifice to the proletarian elements, so that as the war progressed the elements represented by the International became predominant. And although two letters, the one referred to above, concerning the secret meeting at Frankfort, and a note of no greater interest, written in reply to a request for information concerning the influence of certain facts on the London market, were the only ones Marx ever wrote to the leaders of the Commune, it must not be supposed that he had no more to do with the Commune than the letters indicate.

As a matter of fact, he was in constant communication with the leaders of the Commune, communications of more or less importance passing between them every few days. But these were never in writing; they were carried on through the medium of a trusted friend, a revolutionist of forty-eight, one Sigismund Borkheim, a successful wine merchant, whose business necessitated constant travelling between Paris and London. The letter to Professor Beesly, already referred to, is of great historical importance, as the Frankfort *Zeitung* editorially remarked after its publication in the Berlin *Vorwärts,* for several reasons, but for none more important than the fact that it solves the problem which has so long baffled the historians of the Commune, namely, how the leaders of the commune managed so promptly to get accurate information concerning supposedly secret affairs of the French and German governments.

They got this information from Marx, through Borkheim. And Marx received it from Bismarck's "right hand," Lothar Bucher! Marx wrote of Bucher: "This man realizes that his fate depends upon my discretion, therefore the effort to prove to me his well-meaning toward our cause." Lothar Bucher, with all his brilliance, was a thoroughgoing traitor. Just as he betrayed Bismarck by conveying secret information to Marx, pretending sincere interest in the cause which Marx represented, and to which he was formerly allied, so he is said later to have betrayed his old comrades by drafting the odious "anti-Socialist Law" in 1878. The exact extent of Marx's influence in the Commune will, on account of the method of communication employed, never be known.

After the fall of the Commune, the odium cast upon it by the European press attached itself to the International also, and the association suffered greatly in consequence. Quite generally, despite the brilliant and earnest defence of the Commune made by such men as the English publicists Frederic Harrison and Professor Beesly, the Commune was regarded as a bloody orgy of revolutionary excesses, and the International was held to be

responsible for all. When the General Council issued the brilliant manifesto, *The Civil War in France,* which Marx wrote after the fall of the Commune, the English press bitterly denounced it as a shameful, "treasonous publication," and called upon the government to punish the signatories and to take special care to discover the "cowardly anonymous author" and bring him to justice, whereupon Marx at once wrote to the London newspapers declaring himself the author of the manifesto.

It is doubtful whether the International could have survived as anything more than a mere sectarian movement after the fall of the Paris Commune, so great was the opprobrium which that event brought upon it. But if that were not enough to insure its destruction, there were other forces at work to that end. And chief of these was the treachery of that unscrupulous intriguer, Bakunin.

Taking advantage of the situation in Europe which resulted from the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune, Bakunin went on building up his separate organization, the Alliance, especially in Italy and Spain, resorting to all kinds of deceitful tricks in order to accomplish his purpose. His temper and purpose may be judged from a letter which he wrote to one of his allies, a very questionable character named Morago, in which he said: "The Alliance must *appear* to agree with the International, though really apart from it, in order better to get round it, and to direct it. Therefore, efforts should always be made to place its members in a minority on any council, committee, or section of the Alliance."[1] It seems quite certain from the evidence which was submitted to the General Council of the International, that Bakunin and his allies represented to their dupes that the Alliance was a sort of "inner circle" of the International, necessary for conspiratory purposes, and that many of those who joined the Alliance had no idea that they were being used by Bakunin as a means of injuring the International. In other cases branches of the International were

[1] Quoted by Gustav Jæckh, *Die Internationale,* pp. 169–170.

formed, but actually officered and directed by allies of Bakunin, who made them in reality, though not nominally, branches of the Alliance. These were old tricks to Bakunin. In 1869 he used the fanatical Netchaieff to form conspiratory societies in Russia, branches of the Alliance in the name of the International, and caused the programme of the Alliance to be printed and distributed under the name of the International Workingmen's Association — facts which were brought out in the trial of Netchaieff for murder.

When the International held its next congress in London, from the seventeenth to the twenty-third of September, 1871, it was evident that the organization had been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. The Paris Commune had brought great reproach upon it, and Bakunin's intrigues had greatly weakened it by internal dissension. Moreover, the International was held responsible for all the wild vagaries of the Anarchists, to the great disgust of those working-class organizations, such as the British trade unions, which held Anarchism to be an abomination. Marx was present at the London congress and the subject of Bakunin's treachery was fully discussed, full power being given to the General Council to deal with the Alliance.

Just at this time the leaders of the British trades unions began to withdraw from the International. It has been generally understood that they withdrew on account of personal differences with Marx, but in truth their withdrawal was due to a much more important cause. Differences of opinion there certainly were, but they were not, in themselves, sufficiently important to lead to such a step on the part of men like Odger, Applegarth, and others. When Engels returned to London at the end of 1870, after his permanent retirement from business, Marx seems to have fallen, probably unconsciously, into the habit of consulting him only, and relying completely upon his advice, and this gave rise, naturally enough, to jealousy and ill-feeling. But the more important cause was the crisis in the

trades union movement which drew all the active men in the trades union movement into the political struggle.

In tardy fulfilment of a pledge to the unions, the Liberal Government, under Gladstone, brought in a bill for the repeal of the obnoxious Combination Laws, a substitute for the trades unions' own bill which Frederic Harrison had drawn up in 1869, and which the Liberal Government bitterly opposed. The substitute bill, introduced by Mr. Bruce, who afterwards became Lord Aberdare, was a fraud. While it repealed the Combination Laws, as the unions desired, it also repealed an act of 1859 which had definitely legalized "picketing." Further, it contained a penal clause against anything which the judges might hold to come within the meaning of such terms as "molest," "threaten," "obstruct," "intimidate," "watch," "beset," and so on.

The unions were up in arms and so great was the storm of opposition that the Government had to divide the bill into two separate measures — one legalizing trades unions, and the other, called the Criminal Law Amendment Act, embodying all the most harassing evils against which the unions had been striving for years. Thus the leaders of the trades union movement were drawn into a political fight for the preservation of the unions, and they deemed it wise to withdraw from the International. They very wisely judged that their cause at this critical time would be injured by association with the much-maligned International. Their withdrawal reduced the once powerful organization to almost absolute impotence.

When the next congress of the International met at The Hague, the first week of September, 1872, it was for the purpose of settling once and for ever the issues represented by the rivalry of Marx and Bakunin. Sixty-five delegates attended, representing Australia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. Marx and Engels were present, and it is well known that they had taken great pains to

secure the attendance of as many of their supporters as possible. Marx had not intended to be present at first, but Bakunin had given out a statement to the effect that he would attend the congress for the purpose of "exposing Marx and his clique," and Marx decided to attend that he might confront his old enemy in open debate.

A fight occurred over the report of the credentials committee. M. Maltman Barrie, who was a London journalist, appeared as a delegate from Chicago, and his admission was opposed by the Bakuninists and also by Mottershead, a London delegate, who objected that Barrie had been expelled from the British Federation, and, anyhow, was not a workingman. Marx championed the cause of Barrie and he was admitted. Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, who was a delegate from Madrid and Lisbon, was objected to and bitterly denounced by the Bakuninists, as also was the brave Communard, Edouard Vaillant. The old cry was raised against these men, and even against Marx and Engels, that they were not proletarians, but "bourgeois Intellectuals."

At the close of a five days' struggle the Marxists were once more victorious. They had defeated the Anarchists and kept them from capturing the International, they had also prevented its dissolution. But Marx and Engels knew full well that the International could never again hope to be of much practical service to the working class. They also knew that so long as anything remained of the organization Bakunin and his friends would attempt to use it for the Anarchist propaganda. They resolved upon the bold and desperate plan of removing the headquarters of the association to New York, and placing the central authority in the hands of F. A. Sorge, F. Bolte, and other trusted German Socialists. After much opposition, this plan was adopted. Then the congress voted to expel Bakunin and Guillaume and another active Bakuninist, named Schwitzguibel, so that the world might know that the International had

completely repudiated Bakunin and his Anarchist theories and aims.

Marx closed the congress with a rousing speech. He is said to have spoken remarkably well for one who was not regarded as an orator, as he had done thoughout the congress in the various debates. He was loudly cheered when he declared: "I wish to labour with all my strength for the future solidarity of the workers. No, I will not leave the International. I will give the rest of my life and labours to the triumph of social ideas which I am sure will one day lead to the supremacy of the proletariat."

The removal of the seat of the General Council to New York, so far away from the centre of the labour movement, quite out of reach of the active European working-class movements, not only meant the death of the International, but it was such a mysterious move, apparently so foolish, that it was naturally regarded with suspicion in some quarters. What could Marx be contemplating, what trick had he up his sleeve, were questions whispered even among his own supporters, and so strange did the removal seem that some seriously believed that it was by way of answer to the silly charge in some of the newspapers that the great Chicago fire was the work of the International! Judging at this late day, in the light of what subsequently took place, it would seem as if Marx had again made the great mistake of confining his consultations upon questions of policy too much to Engels, instead of consulting freely with the friends who had formerly been in his confidence. Both he and Engels, as we know now, had contemplated the removal for a very long time, yet the proposition when it was made to the congress by Engels took many of the oldest friends of Marx by surprise.

It was probably a jealous sense of having been slighted which caused his old and tried friends, George Eccarius and Herman Jung, to turn against Marx at this time and ally themselves with his enemies. They felt that from the time Engels

had removed to London Marx had grown more and more indifferent to the opinions and counsels of others, and that the result was as despotic and undemocratic as Bakunin and his friends protested. Twenty-five years later Herman Jung was still very bitter as he told the present writer how Engels took the place of a number of old and trusted friends in Marx's counsels.

For all practical purposes, the career of the International was terminated by the Hague congress. True, the organization was maintained by the German-American workingmen for another three years, and an international congress was held at Geneva in 1874, but these were only the fitful flickerings of an expiring flame. On the fifteenth day of July, 1876, eleven men met in the city of Philadelphia and held the last congress of the International Workingmen's Association. Of the eleven, ten were delegates from American organizations, the other being supposed to represent Germany. At this meeting the International was formally dissolved. The last official word of the once powerful organization was a proclamation ending with the old slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, Unite!" This proclamation read:

"*Fellow Workingmen:*

"The International convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and the external bond of the organization is no more.

"'The International is dead!' the bourgeoisie of all countries will again exclaim, and with ridicule and joy it will point to the proceedings of this convention as documentary proof of the defeat of the labour movement of the world. Let us not be influenced by the cry of our enemies! We have abandoned the organization of the International for reasons arising from the present political situation of Europe, but as a compensation for it we see the principles of the organization recognised and defended by the progressive workingmen of the entire civilised world. Let us give our fellow-workers in Europe a little time to strengthen their national affairs, and they will surely

soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the workingmen of other parts of the world.

"Comrades! you have embraced the principles of the International with heart and love; you will find means to extend the circle of its adherents, even without an organization. You will win new champions who will work for the realization of the aims of our association. The comrades in America promise you that they will faithfully guard and cherish the acquisitions of the International in this country until more favourable conditions will again bring together the workingmen of all countries to common struggle, and the cry will resound louder than ever:

"'Proletarians of all countries, Unite!'"

The International Workingmen's Association was no more.

XIII

THE LAST PHASE

FROM 1870 to 1883, the year of his death, Marx scarcely knew the luxury of fair health, even for a day. For ten years before 1870 he had been greatly hampered by constantly recurring illnesses, each attack more alarming than the one before it, but after 1880 he enjoyed scarcely a single respite. Engels once described those last thirteen years as " a protracted dying," and it is little less than marvellous that the sufferer could have mustered the necessary strength and courage to do the vast amount of work he did in that time.

Marx sometimes seemed to be wholly indifferent to pain, as though absorption in his work destroyed all consciousness of physical discomfort. Thus, soon after his recovery from the serious attack of the winter of 1869–1870, which had so nearly cost him his life, Jung found him one day in bed, propped up with pillows, writing. The bed was covered with books and papers, and Jung knew by the convulsive twitchings of his face that his friend must be in great pain. Marx would hardly refer to his condition at all, except to say with a brave effort to seem indifferent that he was " a bit under the weather," and it was only from the physician that Jung learned that he was suffering from a large and exceedingly painful ulcer, which had made natural sleep impossible for weeks.

Late in 1870 or early in 1871, the family moved to a smaller house, 1, Maitland Park Road, on Haverstock Hill, near the northern height of Hampstead Heath, amid fine old trees centuries old. Marx loved Hampstead Heath, and revelled in its literary associations. He knew by heart, and loved to repeat, the literary lore of London's magnificent " playground "

— its associations with Washington Irving, Leigh Hunt, Shelley, Coleridge, Keats, Dickens, and many another famous writer. Occasionally he took his family and friends for refreshment to the world-famed "Jack Straw's Castle," where Dickens loved to linger and write. He greatly admired the genius with which Dickens depicted social conditions, and on one of his visits to "Jack Straw's Castle" entertained his friends by an impromptu impersonation of Old Scrooge, declaiming with great earnestness and passion.

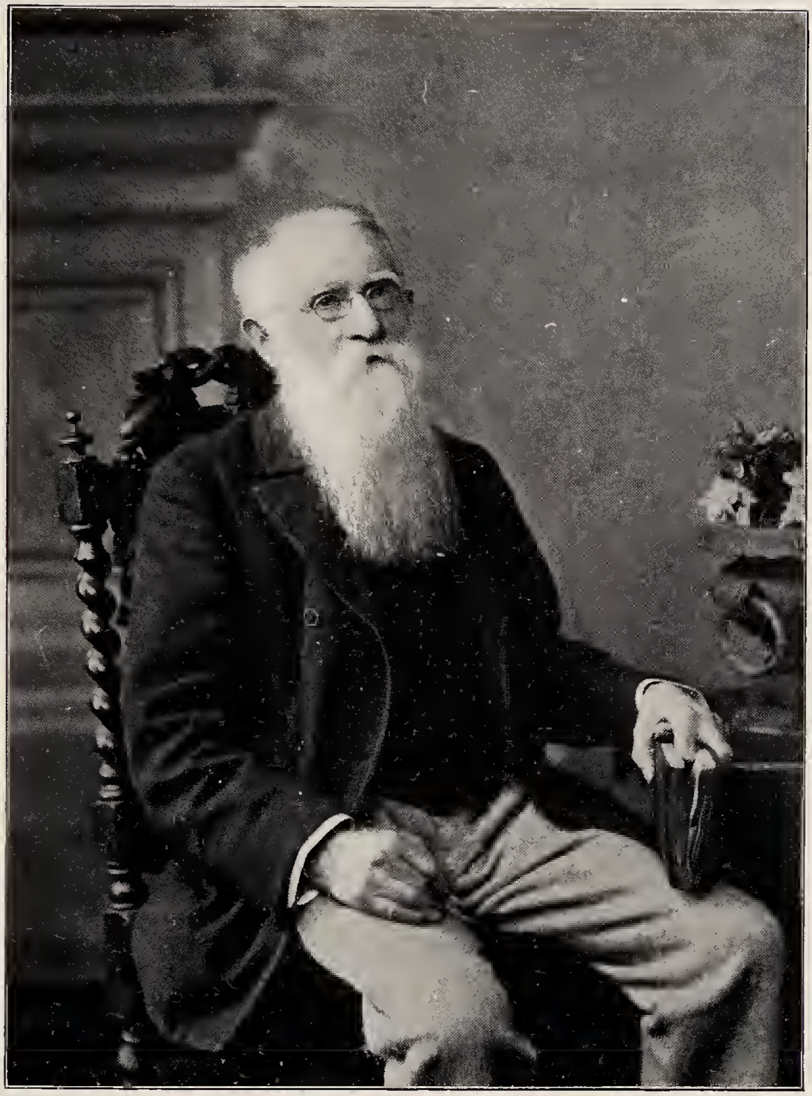
The work in connection with the International to which Marx devoted most of his time for several years prior to the Hague congress, and which he continued for some time after, has been sufficiently outlined in the chapters devoted to the history of the International. Little of importance remains to be added to that account. Presumably through the generosity of Engels, Marx was accompanied to The Hague by his wife and daughter Eleanor. At The Hague, as well as at the other cities visited, he was greatly annoyed by the persistent and unwelcome attentions of well-meaning people who sought to lionize him, and mere curiosity seekers who simply wanted to see and meet the "notorious Marx." All these people were treated with scant courtesy. On the other hand, to the crowd of journalists from every one of the leading European countries which besieged him, following him wherever he went, he was most considerate and kind, granting interviews freely, and giving of his time and strength in a most prodigal manner.

It is certain that when he checkmated his old enemy, Bakunin, by securing the removal of the General Council of the International to New York, Marx hoped thereby to gain rest, and that freedom from personal strife and controversy which was necessary for the completion of *Capital.* He was a sick man; his time and strength for years had been largely spent in such strife, to the great hindrance of what he regarded as his life-work, and so he longed for peace in which to finish his *magnum opus.*

His disillusionment was swift, complete, and exceedingly bitter. In a very little while he was drawn again into controversies that taxed his strength and patience to the utmost. In the first place, the Bakuninists seized the opportunity which this sensational step afforded to arrange a congress of the dissatisfied elements. Accordingly, an "Anti-Despotic Congress" was held at St. Imier, at which all the acts of the Hague congress were repudiated. This gathering declared that the International was no longer in existence and so proceeded to found a "new International."

Following the lead thus set, the Belgian sections of the International passed resolutions at their congress declaring all the acts of the Hague congress null and void. The Spanish sections did likewise at their congress, at Cordova, and announced that they would join the new body founded at St. Imier — which was, of course, only Bakunin's Alliance in a new disguise. The British Federation likewise rejected most of the Hague resolutions, and strongly condemned the transfer to New York. The new General Council, which we now know to have been directly guided by Marx and Engels, suspended the Federation of the Jura, and expelled the Belgian and Spanish sections, as well as a large part of the membership of the British Federation.

All this imposed upon Marx a vast amount of additional work, and that at a time when he needed rest and peace more than at any time in his life. He was called upon to advise the new General Council upon all matters of policy, and to reply to the attacks made by the Secessionists. The activity of John Hales, the ex-secretary of the International, practically wrecked the International in England. After the Hague congress, Hales, who had been secretly corresponding with the Bakuninist Alliance, and otherwise plotting against Marx and Engels, tried at a congress of the British Federation, in January, 1873, to get Marx expelled from the International, bitterly attacking him as a "despot," a "middle-class Intellectual," and so on.



Frederick Lessner

But the delegates to the congress, though a majority of them voted against the resolutions of the congress at The Hague, and the transfer of the General Council of New York, voted down the resolution to expel Marx and adopted in its stead a motion " assuring Dr. Karl Marx of the esteem of the British workers." So persistent were the attacks of Hales, however, that Marx and Engels were compelled at last to make public reply to them through the columns of the *International Herald,* as well as by a circular to the members, which was signed by ten members of the British Federal Council. Hales rejoined with a long, abusive pamphlet in which Marx and Engels were again denounced as autocrats and middle-class Intellectuals who sought to use the working-class movement for their own advancement.

All this greatly wearied Marx, and he perceptibly aged in appearance as a result of the heavy strain. By the end of 1873 he was again a very sick man. His physician at this time absolutely forbade the use of tobacco in any form — an order which Marx found it hard to obey. After the first few days, however, he developed a certain pride in the evidence of his strong will which observance of the prohibition indicated. With childlike naïveté he seemed to regard his abstinence from tobacco as a wonderful feat which hardly another could accomplish. When Engels, Lessner, and other old friends called each day he would tell them with eager pride that he had not touched tobacco for so many days. He was in fact as proud of this evidence of his superior will-power as of anything in all his career.

The immense gains made by the German Socialists in the elections of 1874, when the Socialist vote, which in 1871 was 101,927, rose to about 450,000 and ten Socialists were elected to the Reichstag, greatly elated Marx. He rejoiced in it especially as a rebuke to " Bismarck and his middle-class tail," and predicted the rapid march of the German proletariat to victory. When the election returns were received in London

there was great rejoicing among the German Socialist exiles, and Marx, ill as he was at the time, was among the most vociferous of them all.

He was greatly annoyed when from time to time the newspapers published alarming statements about the condition of his health, but when they announced his death, as happened more than once, he enjoyed it as a great joke. He wrote to Kugelmann, on the 19th of January, 1874: "Do not bother at the noise made by the newspapers, and do not answer them. I allow the English newspapers to announce my death from time to time, and I do not contradict them. Nothing annoys me more than if my friends write to the press about my health. I do not care what it thinks."

A short visit to Harrogate about this time brought considerable improvement, but he relapsed as soon as he returned to London and was once more sent off to the seaside, this time to Ramsgate. He seems to have been suffering from a derangement of the liver, bronchitis and a carbuncle. A specialist summoned by Engels from Manchester, a Dr. Grumpet, ordered him to go to Carlsbad at once, to take the cure there. Thither he went in the summer of 1874, after it had been ascertained that he would be free from molestation by the government.

He was accompanied by his youngest daughter, Eleanor, and they stopped at Leipsic to see Liebknecht, with whom Marx discussed the proposed union of the two Socialist factions, the Lassalleans and the Marxists, or Eisenachers, as the latter were commonly called. Liebknecht was at the time editing a Socialist newspaper in Leipsic and since Marx had, from his London exile, for a long time been the chief adviser of the Eisenachers, he naturally embraced the opportunity to discuss matters at length with Liebknecht in person. In an address at the Erfurt convention of the German Social Democratic Party, in 1891, Liebknecht told the story of the movement for Socialist unity. He said:

"As I sat in the editor's officc one beautiful morning in Leipsic, not long after I rcturned from imprisonment in the fortress of Hubcrtusburg, a man came in, who appeared not wholly unknown to me, though I could not immediately say who he was. I worked on, whereupon the man said to me: 'Tolcke is here and wishes to speak to you.' I arose immediately. Tolcke met me with his outstretched hand, in which I at once placed mine. It required no previous conclusion of peace. We betook ourselves to an adjoining room. 'We must have peace,' said Tolcke, and I replied 'Yes; we must have peace.'

"From that moment, for me, peace was concluded, and as about that time similar steps were taken in the North, in Hamburg, in Altona, and in other places, it became evident to all of my friends in Germany that now we must unite ourselves, let come what would. A hotspur on one side or the other sought to hinder the work of peace, but the union had to be; it was necessary for the interests of the party.

"We met in conference for the purpose of acquainting ourselves with a programme for union; on this side and that concessions were made, and at last, after long, long deliberation, we agreed upon the draft known to you, which, almost unchanged, was accepted by the Gotha congress."

When Marx met Liebknecht at Leipsic negotiations had not gone very far. What his attitude was later on when the draft of a programme had been agreed upon we shall presently see: for the moment we are interested in his visit to Carlsbad. He had been sent there principally on account of liver trouble and insomnia, and was greatly benefited. He proved to be a model patient, taking the treatment with the utmost conscientiousness and cheerfulness. He made many friends, and looked upon his stay there as one of the pleasantest experiences of his life. On their way home the travellers made a flying visit to Bingen, because Marx wanted to show his daughter where he and her mother had spent their honeymoon. They went, also, to Berlin and spent three happy days with Edgar von Westphalen, and Marx was greatly amused when he learned afterward that an hour after they had left their hotel the police called to arrest him.

Marx returned from Carlsbad so much improved that he and his friends began to hope that at last a permanent cure had been effected. He plunged once more into his work with something of his old-time ardour and vigour. But the development of affairs in connection with the effort to unite the German movement gave him the greatest possible concern, and took up much of his time.

As soon as an agreement had been reached upon a draft programme, as described by Liebknecht, it was very naturally communicated to Marx, who at once came to the conclusion that a great mistake was about to be committed, and set about trying to prevent its consummation. By many writers it has been asserted that Marx was opposed to the unity of the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers, and that he manifested a petty, jealous and intolerant spirit. All such accounts are untrue, and as foolish as they are untrue. That he was mistaken in his attitude there cannot be the slightest doubt now in the light of the subsequent history of the German Social Democracy, and Marx himself lived to make frank and proud acknowledgment of that fact. But they do great injustice to a brave and noble spirit who accuse him of acting from motives of petty jealousy.

Marx, as may be seen from his famous Letter on the Gotha Programme, believed in unity quite as strongly, and desired it quite as earnestly, as Liebknecht or anyone else. He was, however, very much opposed to the proposed method of effecting it, to the adoption of an unsatisfactory and unscientific theoretical programme as a basis for such unity. He realized perfectly that the Lassalleans could not be expected to adopt, without modification, such a statement of theoretical principles as would satisfy himself and his followers, but he was opposed to the adoption of an unsatisfactory compromise programme. Rather, he argued, let that matter stand in abeyance. Treat the question of a programme as being of very minor importance; proceed with the unity of the movement by all means, but do not adopt a programme that is " utterly condemnable

and demoralizing to the party." That this was his position there can be no doubt, for in his letter to Bracke, dated from London, May 5, 1875, accompanying his severe critical annotations to the proposed programme and asking that they be forwarded to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht, he wrote:

"Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Therefore if it was impossible to go beyond the Eisenach programme — and the circumstances of the times did not permit of it — a simple agreement for action against the common enemy should have been concluded. But when a programme of principles is prepared (instead of postponing it to a time when a matter of that kind would be the result of longer common activity) boundary stones are erected before the whole world, upon which the height of the party movement is measured by the world." And again: "It is known that the mere fact of the union satisfies the workers, but it is an error to believe that this momentary result is not bought too dearly."

This communication caused the greatest consternation among the members of the little group to which it was addressed. What were they to do? If they made the letter public the much-longed-for unity would be effectually prevented; it would offend the Lassalleans on the one hand and, on the other hand, rally all the opponents of unity among the Eisenachers beneath the banner of Marx. It was decided to keep the communication a secret, to treat it as a private and confidential communication, and to proceed with the arrangements for unity. Marx was quietly but firmly informed that he could not view matters correctly from London; that unity was an imperative necessity; and that while they attached great importance to his opinion, they could not in this instance follow it. For Liebknecht especially it was far from easy to take such a stand in opposition to Marx.

"We went through the letter carefully," says Liebknecht. "I myself, who had lived with Marx, a comrade in struggle,

his pupil, who in London had tasted the cup of exile with him, always proud to call myself his pupil and friend — I was obliged to face the question, 'Is it for the interest of the party that we should go on in the manner that Marx wishes?' I knew at that time, as well as to-day, that what he said theoretically against the plan was correct to the last letter. Theory and practice are, however, two very different things. So, though I unconditionally relied on the judgment of Marx as to theory, in practice I went my own way. I asked myself, 'Is it possible to carry out at this time such a programme as Marx demands?' After mature examination I came to this conviction, that it was not possible, and at the peril of being, for a time, at variance with Marx — whatever happened was not for long — I declared: 'It cannot be. Marx is dear to me, but dearer to me is the party.'"

So the advice of Marx was rejected and the union of the two Socialist factions effected at the Gotha congress, in May, 1875. Thus the present Social Democratic Party came into existence. To say that Marx was angry at the rejection of his advice, is to state the truth in mild terms. He was furious, and predicted all sorts of dire evils as a result of the compromise. Against Liebknecht he was very bitter for quite a long time. Time proved his fears to be mere phantoms, however, and the brilliant success of the Social Democratic Party, in spite of all obstacles, satisfied him that Liebknecht, Auer, Bebel, and the other Eisenacher leaders acted wisely in rejecting his advice. For the Gotha congress resulted in a true union of the German Socialist forces — a union which the enemies of the movement have found it impossible to destroy.

It was not until 1891, in connection with the proposal to revise the party programme at the Erfurt congress, in October of that year, that Marx's critique upon the Gotha programme, together with his letter to Bracke, were made public by Friedrich Engels. Something of a sensation was caused by the publication, and there was a good deal of criticism of the action of the leaders in withholding it from the knowledge of the rank and file at the time of its receipt. That they were justified

in so doing no one seriously questions to-day, whatever may have been his opinion in 1891. Had the communication been made public in 1875 there could have been no unity of the Socialist forces, and without that unity the history of German Socialism would be very much less inspiring than it is.

Soon after the Gotha congress Marx was again ordered to Carlsbad. He went alone this time, and took the treatment with the same scrupulous care and fidelity that he had shown the previous year. An affable, good-humoured companion, ever ready to tell a good story or joke, and a brilliant conversationist, he became very popular among his fellow patients. But he was homesick and lonely for all that, and vowed that he would never again make the trip alone. So when he went to Carlsbad again in the following year, 1876, he was accompanied by his daughter Eleanor.

It would be well-nigh impossible, and of small interest if it were possible, to chronicle in detail the work and experiences of the remaining years. In a sense, his work was done. True, he worked whenever his strength permitted upon the two remaining volumes of *Capital,* but the progress made was not very great. In addition to minor literary undertakings, he carried on an enormous correspondence with the working-class leaders of various countries. As the Socialist movement grew, especially in Germany and France, the demands upon his time by Socialists seeking his advice grew more and more numerous. His advice, and that of Engels, was sought upon every important question of party policy, and when the matters concerning which advice was sought were too important to be intrusted to the mails, delegations were sent for personal consultation. In addition to these delegations Marx was constantly visited by prominent Socialists from all parts of the world, bringing important information, seeking advice, or paying their respects to their famous leader and comrade.

He should have gone to Carlsbad again in 1877, but learned that the German and Austrian governments, having become

greatly alarmed at the growth of the Socialist movement, had agreed to expel him, and so refrained from going that year, much to his disadvantage. The expense and strain of the journey were too great to be undertaken in the face of probable expulsion. He never went to Carlsbad again, a fact which he and his friends deeply regretted because he had always derived so much benefit from the treatment there.

We can summarize his life from 1875 to 1880 as being devoted mainly to his work as the chief adviser of the Socialist forces of the world, interrupted by frequent periods of illness. Sorrows, such as the death of some of his grandchildren, the children of his daughters, Jenny Longuet and Laura Lafargue, oppressed him greatly and added to the misery of the period. And when, in 1878, his friend's wife, Mrs. Engels, died, he felt the blow almost as keenly as Engels himself, for she had been as much his friend as was her husband. A big-hearted, lovable Irishwoman, Mrs. Engels had been an enthusiastic adherent of the Fenian movement, and inspired much of Marx's interest in the Irish cause.

The winter of 1879–1880 was especially trying for Marx. A hard cough shook his broad, powerful frame until his distress was pitiable to behold, but he bore his sufferings with indomitable courage and undiminished cheerfulness. Then, toward the end of the summer of 1880 came the illness of his wife, from which it was soon evident she could never recover. For months she bore all the terrible tortures of cancer, from which she could not be relieved. Poor Marx was frantic with grief, and his old enemy, insomnia, made life almost unbearable. In the midst of it all a grave attack of pleurisy, from which recovery seemed to be almost impossible, confined him to his bed for many weeks. His daughter Eleanor wrote of this time:

" It was a terrible time. In the large front room our little mother was lying, in the small room next to it ' Mohr ' was also confined to his bed. And these two, so much accustomed

to one another, so closely allied to each other, could not be together in the same room any longer. . . .

" 'Mohr' recovered from his sickness for this once. Never shall I forget the morning when he felt strong enough to go into dear mother's room. They were young once more together — she a loving girl and he an adoring youth, who together entered upon life — not an old man wrecked by sickness and a dying old woman who took leave of each other."

In 1881 the Democratic Federation of Great Britain was formed, mainly as a result of the activity of Mr. H. M. Hyndman. The programme of the Federation was radical-republican and quasi-Socialist, and it was not until three years later that it adopted a thorough-going Socialist programme and changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation. At the first meeting of the Democratic Federation, Mr. Hyndman presented copies of his book, *England For All,* to all present, a work remarkable for the fact that it contained the first attempt to present in English an outline of the most important parts of Marx's economic teachings. It was in fact largely drawn from *Capital,* which had not yet been translated into English.

In view of Mr. Hyndman's record during the nearly thirty years which have elapsed since then, as a brilliant, devoted and courageous expositor and advocate of Marx's theories, it is interesting to note that he was distrusted and bitterly denounced by Marx in letters to Sorge, and others. Mr. Hyndman's bourgeois affiliations, his friendship for Mazzini, and the fact that he had, only the year before, unsuccessfully contested the parliamentary division of Marylebone, as an independent candidate, were all factors in the prejudice with which Marx regarded him. Marx felt slighted, moreover, that Mr. Hyndman had not referred to him in his book by *name,* instead of anonymously as a " great German thinker." Only the fact that these letters — never intended for publication — have been dragged from obscurity from time to time by unscrupulous critics, and made the basis of the most bitter attacks upon Mr.

Hyndman justifies this reference to them. Under all the circumstances, it was, perhaps, not unnatural that he should have been regarded by Marx as a "political adventurer" at that time, but by absolute and devoted loyalty to the cause for which Marx also gave his life, he has lived down the suspicion and proved how baseless it was. That Marx, were he alive to-day, would frankly repent every one of his bitter and unjustifiable words there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who knows anything of his nature. And to drag those bitter judgments from the oblivion of more than a quarter of a century, and use them as if they applied to the Hyndman of to-day, is to dishonour the memory of Marx himself.

But although the publication of Mr. Hyndman's book, and the founding of the Democratic Federation, provoked Marx to the anger indicated by these bitterly passionate and scornfully abusive letters, his gentle, suffering wife saw in them signs of an awakening interest in the ideas for which she and her beloved husband had so cheerfully sacrificed their lives. She rejoiced in these things, and in an article about her husband written by Mr. Bax for one of the magazines, even though Marx himself might be annoyed by the fancied slight by Mr. Hyndman and the errors of Mr. Bax. She was as cheerful in the torture of her lingering death as ever she had been in health, and laughed and joked in spite of everything. At the time of the German elections of 1881 she inquired with feverish anxiety for the results, and rejoiced as much as her husband or any of their friends at the victories of the Social Democrats. She saw in the onward sweep of her German comrades abundant justification and reward for all the years of exile and suffering, and was content.

On the second of December, 1881, she died, her last words addressed to her husband. When Engels came in response to a hasty summons, he said, "'Mohr' is dead, too." He knew well that Marx could not long survive the loss of his wife,

the comrade of so many years of hardship and struggle. A few days later, they buried her in Highgate Cemetery, and as the coffin was lowered, Marx tottered and would have fallen into the grave had not Engels caught him.

A bent and broken old man, he tried to forget his grief by plunging once more into his work, hoping to finish *Capital* before his death. But he was sick and barely able to attend to the flood of correspondence which continued to pour in upon him from all parts of the world. There is one letter of this period which is of special interest to American readers because of the criticism it contains of Henry George and his well-known work, *Progress and Poverty*. A copy of the book was sent to him by Sorge, and he wrote:

"Before your copy of Henry George's book reached me, I received two other copies. . . . For the present I must limit myself to expressing very briefly my opinion of the book. The man is far behind the times in his theoretical views. He knows nothing about the nature of surplus-value, and so wastes his time, after the English manner, and in speculations which the English have left behind, about the relations of profit, rent, interest, and so on. His fundamental idea is that everything would be all right if ground rents were paid to the State. (You will find that kind of payment mentioned in the *Communist Manifesto,* among transitional measures). This view originated with the bourgeois economists, and it was next asserted — if we overlook a similar demand at the end of the XVIIIth century — by the first radical followers of Ricardo, soon after his death. I expressed myself in regard to it in 1847, in the book which I wrote against Proudhon: 'We know that the economists, such as Mill (Mill senior, not his son, John Stuart Mill, who has repeated it, but in a somewhat modified way), Cherbuliez, Hillditch, and others, have demanded that rent should be paid to the State so as to serve as a substitute for taxes. This is a frank statement of the hatred felt by the industrial capitalist for the landowner, who seems to him to be a useless, unnecessary member in the organism of Capitalist society.'

"As already stated, we inserted this appropriation of ground

rent by the State among our many other demands, which, as also stated in the *Manifesto,* are self-contradictory, and must be such of necessity.

" The first to turn this demand of the radical English bourgeois economists into a Socialist panacea, to declare it as the solution of the antagonisms inherent in the present system of production, was Colins, a Belgian by birth, and formerly an officer of hussars under Napoleon. In the latter days of Guizot and in the early days of Napoleon *le petit,* he rendered the world happy by pouring out on it, from Paris, thick volumes upon this ' discovery ' of his, as well as on the other discovery he made, viz.: that there is no God in existence, but an ' immortal ' human soul, and that animals have no gift of perception. For if they had one, he argued, they would also have a soul, and we would be cannibals, and then no kingdom of justice could be established on earth. His ' anti-landownership ' theory as well as his soul, etc., theory, has been preached for years in the Paris monthly, *Philosophie de l'Avenir* by the few surviving followers of his, mostly Belgians. They call themselves ' Rational Collectivists ' and have commended Henry George.

" After them, and along with them, this ' Socialism ' has, among others, been threaded out into a thick volume by a blockhead by the name of Samter,[1] a Prussian banker, and formerly collector of lotteries.

" All these ' Socialists,' including Colins, have this in common, that they let wage-labour, and with it capitalist production, stand as before, and want to deceive the world that by turning ground rent into a tax paid to the State, all the evils of the capitalist system will disappear of themselves. The whole is merely a socialistically-fringed attempt to save the rule of Capitalism, and to establish it in fact on a still larger foundation than it has at present.

" This cloven hoof sticks out in a manner not to be mistaken in all declarations of Henry George. He is still less to be forgiven since he should have asked himself the question: ' How is it that in the United States, where, in comparison with civilized Europe, the land was more accessible to the great mass of the people, and to a certain degree still is, that in this country the capitalist system, and the consequent servitude of the working class, have developed faster than in any other country? '

[1] This is Adolf Samter, the economist.

"At the same time, George's book and the sensation which it has created in your country have this significance, that it is the first, even if unsuccessful, attempt to cut loose from the orthodox political economy.

"Henry George seems, moreover, to be entirely ignorant of the history of the American Anti-Renters. Otherwise he is a writer of talent (he has also a good talent for Yankee puff) as his article on California in the *Atlantic Monthly* shows. He also has that repugnant arrogance and conceit which is so characteristic of all panacea-hatchers of this kind."

The letter to Sorge from which this extract is taken bears the date of June 20, 1881, and was written in London. Marx tried hard during the summer to finish *Capital,* the monument he desired to erect to his wife's memory, but he could make little progress. His physician persuaded him to go abroad again, and he consented only when it was urged that he would be very likely to gain the strength necessary to finish the second and third volumes of his cherished work. So, early in 1882, he went to Paris and Argenteuil, where he spent some weeks with his daughter and son-in-law, the Longuets. From there he went to the south of France, and thence to Algiers.

The fates were against him. During the whole of the time he was away the weather was very bad, so that he derived no benefit from the change. At Mustapha (Algiers) he found a very capable physician and was treated with great kindness and every mark of respect at the hotel where he stayed, but he returned to London worse than he left, rather than better. He went then to Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, where he spent the autumn and winter of 1882. Lonely there, and hungry for the love of children, he begged that his favourite grandchild, Jean Longuet, now a prominent Socialist journalist in France, might be sent to him, and this was done.

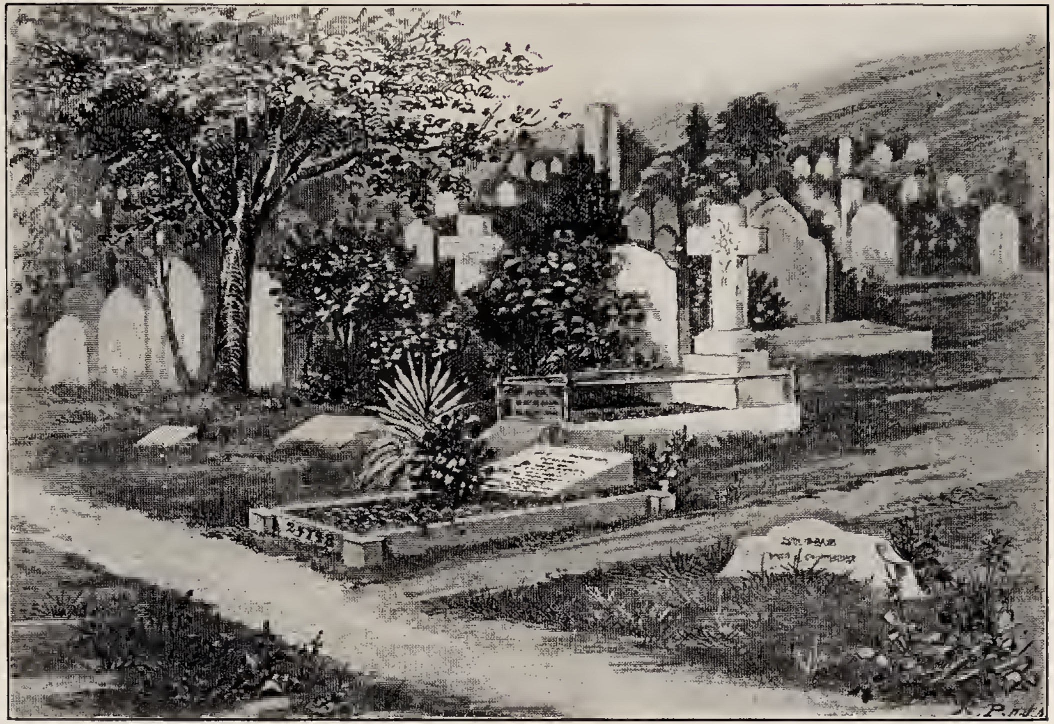
He seemed to gain strength at Ventnor, but was sorely distressed to receive word that his eldest daughter, Madame Longuet, was ill. With the worry occasioned by this distressing news he became once more a victim of insomnia. Then came

word that she was out of danger and he wrote to his youngest daughter, Eleanor, that there was no cause for worry. His old courage and cheerfulness, in a measure, returned.

But within an hour of the time that she received her father's letter — on January 8, 1883 — Eleanor received a telegram saying that Jenny had died very suddenly. Knowing what a terrible blow this would be to her father, she hastened at once to him, wondering all through the long journey from London to Ventnor how she could break the force of the blow. He read her message from her face and said simply, " Our little Jenny is dead! " He would have no ministration or comforting; nothing would satisfy him except that she hasten at once to Paris to care for the motherless children, and within half an hour she was on her way back to London and thence to Paris.

A few days after that Marx returned home to die. For about six weeks he was in a very critical state, and then there were apparent signs of improvement, as if the once iron constitution had in some mysterious manner regained some of its old strength. The doctors — both the family physician and specialists who had been called in — believed that he would once more recover and cheat the grave for years longer. " If we can maintain his strength by nourishment," they said, " there is a good chance to make him well and strong again." These false hopes inspired his friends, and laughter was once more heard in that household from which its happy sound had so long been banished. He talked once more of finishing *Capital,* and even Engels believed that he might.

It was not to be, however. On the afternoon of the fourteenth of March, 1883, shortly before two o'clock, the crisis came, and Engels was at once summoned. He found Eleanor and the good Helene Demuth in tears; Marx had gone from the bedroom to his study, they said, where, seated in his armchair, he seemed half-asleep, as though he were losing consciousness. Engels went to the study at once, and found his



Karl Marx's Grave in Highgate Cemetery

old friend, not half asleep, but fully and forever, with a smile upon his lips. Karl Marx was dead.

. . . .

Three days later they laid his body to rest in the grave where that of his wife had been laid fifteen months previously. Only a small handful of mourners gathered around the grave that Saturday afternoon to hear Engels, his voice broken by sobs, pay the last tender and affectionate tribute to the memory of his great friend. But Marx is immortal, and to-day the Socialists of all lands, millions strong, regard that grave in Highgate Cemetery as a sacred shrine.

The simple stone tablet at the head of the grave bears this inscription:

JENNY VON WESTPHALEN
The Beloved Wife of
Karl Marx
Born 12 February 1814
Died 2 December 1881.

And KARL MARX
Born May 5, 1818; died March 14, 1883.

And HARRY LONGUET
Their Grandson
Born July 4, 1878; died March 20, 1883.

And HELENE DEMUTH
Born January 1, 1823; died November 4, 1890.

XIV

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

A PROMINENT English Marxian Socialist has spoken of Marx with a disciple's unrestrained enthusiasm as "the Aristotle of the nineteenth century." The comparison can scarcely be called obvious or felicitous, though it is by no means so unreasonable as at first sight it seems. The range and profundity of the German thinker's philosophical and economic studies compel something of the same admiration that is universally evoked by the genius of the great Stagirite. Not only so, but the two names are inevitably associated because Aristotle clearly anticipated the great concept of the historical process which is rightly regarded as the supreme discovery of Marx.

It has been said that most of Aristotle's discoveries have lain dormant and required rediscovery in modern times, and it might almost be said that the materialistic conception of history, which is Marx's chief contribution to modern thought, dwarfing all his achievements as a political economist, is an Aristotelian discovery rediscovered in modern times by Marx. Such a description would, however, do less than justice to Marx. Aristotle was fully alive to the dependence of social and political institutions upon economic conditions. He observed, for example, that, just as the food of animals determines their habits as gregarious or solitary, so are men's lives different in the pastoral, the hunting and fishing, and the agricultural stages of society.[1] And when grouping the different types of democracy the basis of his grouping is the economic conditions pre-

[1] *Politics,* I, 8.

vailing.[1] But although Aristotle thus clearly perceived the dependence of political and social institutions upon economic conditions, it was left for Marx to discover in that relation a great law of historical development and a mode of historical interpretation, a discovery which has revolutionized the methods of the historian and the political economist.

Perhaps it is because Aristotle has become a symbol of unfathomable wisdom, as it were, that to compare with him a modern philosopher like Marx shocks us, as though the thing were impious. Aristotle belongs to the gods. We feel that Engels was far happier, when, speaking over the open grave of his friend in Highgate Cemetery, he linked his name with that of Charles Darwin. Not only were Marx and Darwin contemporaries, but their achievements form a somewhat striking parallel; Darwin explored the laws of organic evolution and Marx explored the laws of social evolution. Darwin explained man's being and Marx explained his social institutions.

Engels made another estimate of his beloved and revered colleague. Within a few hours of the event, he wrote to Liebknecht describing Marx's death. "The greatest mind of the second half of our century" was the phrase in which he expressed his estimate of Marx's place in history. It is interesting to know what position among the immortals was assigned to Marx by the man who knew him as no other man could, his *alter ego,* but we need not concern ourselves with it. Whether Karl Marx was actually the greatest mind of the second half of the wonderful nineteenth century, when so many great minds flourished, we need not trouble to consider. It is enough to know that he belongs with the great minds of all ages; that his name is imperishably emblazoned upon history's deathless page.

Marx's greatness is now universally admitted. It is not seriously questioned by anyone. But the real secret and source of

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[1] *Idem,* VI, 4.

his greatness is very little understood. To the world at large, his title to fame rests altogether upon his work as a political economist. It is as the author of *Das Kapital* that he is best known, and that work is regarded as doing for its author what the *Wealth of Nations* did for Adam Smith. Curiously enough, his far more important achievements, upon which his fame must ultimately rest, are almost entirely ignored. Without in any manner belittling his work as an economist, it may be said with confidence that either his discovery of the materialistic conception of history or his practical work as one of the builders of a great international movement would be a surer and better title to enduring fame.

Marx and Engels — for their names are quite inseparable — were not the first to recognize that our political and juridical institutions, our philosophic ideas and our concepts of justice and morality are rooted in the material conditions of life, which in turn depend upon the methods of production prevailing — the means of wealth production at our command. Aristotle, as we have already seen, perceived this truth with great clearness, and a multitude of other witnesses could be cited. The scientific greatness of Marx lies in the fact that he gathered existing ideas into a synthesis of inestimable value, working them consciously and systematically into a comprehensive formula. His work in this respect is very similar to that of Darwin, each made epoch-making contributions to modern thought through the development of creative syntheses of existing ideas.

Although some of the more narrow-minded among the followers of Marx have protested that this materialistic interpretation of history is inseparable from Socialism, in the sense that it cannot be accepted by those who do not at the same time accept the whole philosophy and programme of Socialism, the fact is that its acceptance is by no means confined to the believers in Socialism. A great scientific discovery of such magnitude, universal in its application, could not be limited to the creed of any party or movement. So it has become one of the commonplaces

of modern thought that the evolution of production exercises a determining influence upon our ideas of justice and morality, and through them upon our laws and customs. The materialistic conception of history has thus become the common possession of science, and is not to be confined to the bounds of any propaganda. People may differ as to the application of the theory and the conclusions to be drawn from it, but it is not disputed that the conditions of wealth production definitely, and, in the course of time, effectively, influence human thought and institutions. Much has been said concerning the " weakening of the influence of Marx upon the Socialist movement " by critics who have attached undue importance to the differences which have developed among the leading contemporary Socialist thinkers regarding the application of the theory to this or that event or historical epoch. They might just as well urge the same criticism against Darwin. Both the Darwinian biological theory of evolution and the Marxian sociological theory of evolution are disputed in detail, alike by critics and adherents, but their fundamental ideas are not challenged. It is no detraction from the merit of either of the great thinkers to admit that his work needs revision in the light of the fresh knowledge that has been acquired.

It is this theory of the determining part which economic conditions play in the historical process which constitutes the greatest and grandest of all the achievements of Marx. Had he done nothing else than develop this theory he would have been certain of a place among the greatest thinkers of all time. Next in importance to it — if we may be permitted to separate them — comes the discovery of what may be termed the mechanism of the process, the theory of the class struggle. When we have established the fact that the historical movement is dominated by economic forces, the next step is to comprehend the manner in which that movement proceeds, the methods by which the economic forces direct its course. Marx and Engels were not by any means the first to perceive that all through the fabric

of history runs the thread of an unceasing struggle of hostile classes. Many other writers, both French and English, had seen that quite clearly.

What distinguishes the Marxian theory of class struggles is the idea of a constant economic motive acting in all the successive struggles of classes of which history is the record. Instead of regarding the sway of the various ruling classes as wicked conspiracies against justice and righteousness, the Marxian theory shows each dominant class to have been in its turn a necessary instrument of human progress, the product of economic conditions; its rise and fall being alike necessary and inevitable events in the evolution of mankind. History never stands still for long, and every new class which gains the mastery of society pushes outward and forward the bounds of man's kingdom in the universe, until necessity evolves the class to take away its power in like manner as it wrested the power from a previously dominant class.

What this means can best be comprehended by a comparison of the manner in which the older Socialists of the Utopian school regarded the class warfare in society with that in which it is treated in the *Communist Manifesto.* In all the literature of the Utopian school of Socialists the struggle is invariably described as being between Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice. Their attack upon the dominant class always took the form of moral condemnation. But in the *Manifesto,* as we have seen in an earlier chapter, a vigorous description of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is accompanied by a glowing tribute to the historical accomplishments of the bourgeoisie such as few of its own apologists ever penned. This recognition of the historical rôle of the capitalist class stands out as the most distinctive feature of the *Manifesto,* and of the scientific Socialism of which it is the first clear expression.

The objective of the struggle between classes is always economic gain. The dominant class compels the subjected

class of producers to surrender its surplus product in forms varying with the economic conditions. The slaves gave a surplus of labour as compared with that required for their own maintenance. It was very easy to visualize the manner of their exploitation. But in the capitalist system of society this is not the case. There is no open surrender of surplus labour. The system of wages obtains and the workers sell their labour-power in an apparently free market where equal values are exchanged for each other. But the workers are exploited, nevertheless; they have to yield up to the dominant class a surplus as truly as did any of the subjected classes of antiquity. To understand the present form of society, therefore, and the class struggle by which it is characterized which goes on beneath the surface of its institutions of apparent freedom, the hidden form of exploitation must be revealed. That was the great task which Marx undertook in *Das Kapital.*

He concluded that the equivalent to the surplus labour of the slave producer which the modern wage-earner surrenders to the ruling class is the surplus value which he produces over and above the price paid to him by his employer for his labour-power. The wages which the worker receives, no matter whether in the form of time or piece wages, is not the equivalent of a certain amount of work done, or value produced, but simply the price paid by the employer for the labour-power of the worker, which labour-power the employer buys at its full value in the market and uses up just as he uses up his raw materials, with a view to getting a surplus value over and above the price paid for the labour-power. The constant effort to obtain surplus value is the *raison d'être* of capitalist society. Without this surplus value as the objective of production the capitalist mode of production could not exist.

Nor is that all. Not only is surplus value the life of modern capitalist society, it is also the underlying cause of all its inherent struggles and its progressive development. It is the struggle for surplus value, manifesting itself in the competition

of members of the employing class for preeminence, and the deeper and more bitter struggle between employers and employed over questions of wages and hours, which is the compelling force that drives the development of the system to its fullest capacity. It forces the improvement of the technique of production and the accumulation of great masses of capital, so that the struggle tends to become one of the great mass of the people, reduced to the status of proletarians, against a relatively small class of exploiters. There comes a point in this struggle at which, in order to save themselves from utter and complete degradation and servitude, the exploited class of proletarians must expropriate the capitalist class, the monopolists of the means of life. Production will then cease to be carried on for the sake of the surplus value rendered by a class below to a class above. Its place will be taken by cooperative production with no thought of class exploitation.

Now, it is quite true that within the ranks of the Socialist followers of Marx there has arisen a school of so-called "Revisionists" who reject the Marxian theory of surplus value, which fact has given rise to a good deal of rejoicing on the part of the opponents of Socialism, who see in this "Crisis of Marxism," as it has been called, signs of the impending dissolution of Social Democracy. But these Socialist critics of Marx do not deny that the workers are exploited, and that in consequence of that fact there is a war between the wage-workers and the capitalists. Still less do they deny that the capitalistic economy is one of surplus value, and that the struggle for surplus value is the propelling force of its development. In other words, they do not reject the sociological aspects of the theory of surplus value; what they reject is merely Marx's explanation of the manner in which the surplus value is derived, not the fact of its derivation nor the function it fills in the evolutionary process. They are agreed that the objective of capitalist production is surplus value, and also that the struggle for surplus value is at once the cause of the class warfare that goes on in

present society, and of the ever-advancing improvement in the technique of production.

Thus we have three distinct, but correlated, discoveries which together form the body of the Marxian philosophy. First, the materialistic conception of history; second, the rôle of class struggles in social evolution; third, surplus value as the explanation of the struggle of the classes in present society, and the cause of that expansion of capitalism which must inevitably lead to another form of social organization. These three discoveries taken together constitute a philosophical synthesis to which the name " Marxism " has been applied, just as the name " Darwinism " has been applied to the body of Darwin's teaching. And it is this philosophy which, more than anything else, entitles Marx to a place among the great thinkers of all ages.

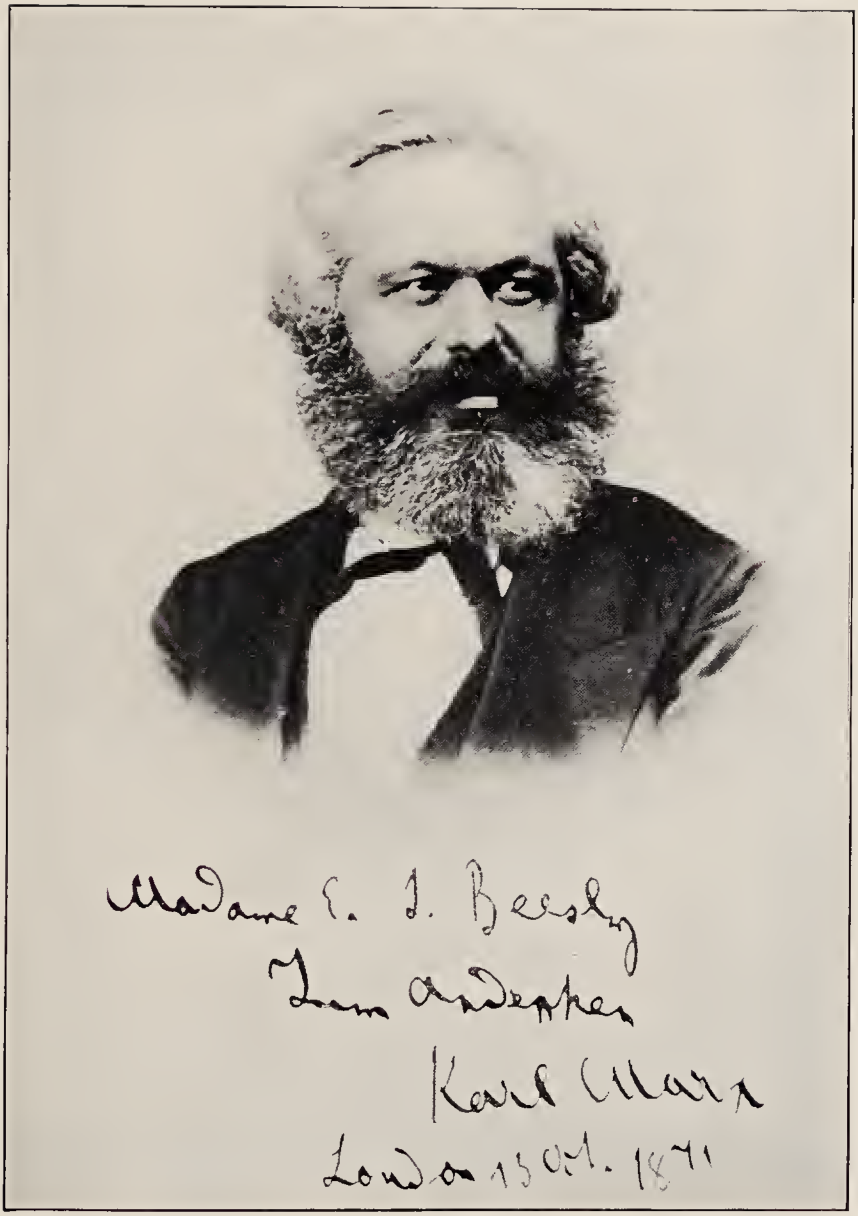
In particular Marx belongs with the great evolutionists of the nineteenth century. In the Pantheon of history he belongs with Darwin and Spencer and the other great evolutionists. His claim to be regarded as the first of the scientific Socialists is not vitiated by the fact that at times he seemed to lapse back into Utopian habits of thought. It is quite true, for example, that at times his thought harked back to the crude Utopian notion of a sudden and violent revolution. We know that he cherished the illusion that the Crimean War would precipitate such a revolution all over Europe and usher in a new social order, and it would be easy to cite other examples of violent contradiction between his utterances and his philosophy of " revolutionary evolution." The fact is that his illusions concerning the probable effects of the Crimean War, and other similar utterances, can only be regarded as lapses into the Utopianism from which his work was to emancipate the movement.

All students of the psychology of revolutionary movements and their leaders are familiar with the exuberant and excessive optimism common to them, and which seems to be a necessary condition of their existence. Marx admirably illustrates this

temperament, and it is probable that without it he would have been unable to do the work he did. Liebknecht tells the story of how, in 1852, Marx was greatly excited by the exhibition of a model of an electric locomotive drawing a railroad train, in a Regent Street shop window. What if the reactionaries were triumphant for the moment? Fools! Could they not see that a new revolution had begun already, that a new and invincible revolutionist had appeared upon the scene of action? The great power, King Steam, whose coming had made the revolution of the last century, was now overthrown by a far mightier power, maker of a far greater revolution. Why doubt the speedy overthrow of capitalism? Was not all the force of science enlisted for that purpose? Capitalism simply could not stand the electric locomotive! In a little while all the steam engines would disappear, and the world would be dominated by electricity. The Revolution had begun with the advent of the whirling little model in the Regent Street shop window. Almost sixty years have past since then; electricity has made rapid strides, and is revolutionizing the industrial processes of the world, but King Steam is not yet completely overthrown; few railways are even yet operated by electricity, though steady progress is being made in that direction; and capitalism seems to assimilate the new force without any great trouble. That electricity is revolutionizing the world has been a commonplace for a generation. Marx was right in regarding it as a great revolutionist, but he was rather mistaken as to the speed and duration of the revolution. Electricity very admirably typifies the "revolutionary evolution" which was the basis of Marx's profoundest thought.

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Next in importance to his scientific achievements ranks the practical work of Marx in the development of a great international political movement of the proletariat. It is not by reason of his scientific discoveries that "Marxism" and "Socialism" have become practically synonymous and interchangeable terms



KARL MARX

(From a photograph given to Mrs. Beesly in 1871)

would have prevented Marx and Engels from writing the *Communist Manifesto* was still pursuing them.

Marx had, as he later wrote to Kugelmann, "great fears" about the Geneva congress, but they were not justified by anything that came to pass. The congress was a complete victory for Marx. Though he was not present, he dominated the congress through trusted representatives. Practically every important resolution adopted came from his pen, as did the brilliant manifesto of the General Council. Concerning this manifesto, Marx wrote to Kugelmann: "I purposely restricted it to such points as permit of an immediate agreement and cooperation of the workers, and give immediate nourishment and impulse to the requirements of the class struggle and the organization of the workers as a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of Proudhonistic phrases. They prate of science and know nothing. They contemn all *revolutionary* action, that is, such as springs from the class struggle itself, all concentrated social movement, which can therefore be forced through by *political* means as, for example, *legal* shortening of the working day."[1]

Only in the light of this frank and unequivocal statement which so clearly reveals his thought and purpose is it possible to understand Marx's policy in connection with the Geneva congress. The resolutions, with the exception of one relating to the class war, all dealt with very practical questions of immediate importance. They advocated raising the age limit for child labourers; regulation of women's labour by the state; the ten-hour day;[2] direct taxation in place of indirect taxation, such direct taxes to be levied mainly against the rich. Voluntary cooperative societies were approved, but it was pointed out that they could not materially aid in the solution of the social problem unless they were extended to production as well as to distribution. It was recommended that all cooperative societies devote part of their profits to propaganda purposes, and

[1] *Die Neue Zeit,* 1902, II, 62-63.

[2] As against an amendment in favour of the eight-hour day.

that special care should be taken not to fall into the methods of capitalist employers. This programme makes it perfectly clear that Marx was far from adopting the doctrinaire attitude common to many of his disciples. His aim was to create a powerful movement of the workers, not a cult or sect bound to fixed dogmas. It is rather remarkable that, during recent years, as the Socialist parties in various countries have devoted increasing attention to the promulgation of practical reforms, and less to theory, they have been charged with the "abandonment of Marxism." The truth is that they have thus become more truly Marxian, not less so.

The adoption of the Inaugural Address and the Preamble and Rules which he had written two years before, and the passage of all the important resolutions which he had drafted for the congress, gave Marx great pleasure and satisfaction. It is questionable, however, if the pleasure and satisfaction which these things afforded equalled that which he experienced when, during the Geneva congress, word came from America that the first convention of the National Labor Union, at Baltimore, had been successfully held, and that resolutions similar to those adopted at Geneva were passed.[1] With his irrepressible optimism Marx believed that this signified the rapid spread of the International over all the United States.

The Geneva congress instructed the General Council to prepare and publish an official report of the proceedings. The report was to be written by Marx. Since it was not considered safe to entrust the minutes and the mass of papers and memo-

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[1] Morris Hillquit, in his admirable *History of Socialism in the United States,* argues, on page 185, that the similarity of resolutions was due wholly to the "similarity of the conditions of the working men on both sides of the Atlantic." That any such similarity of conditions existed is, to say the least, very doubtful. A letter from Marx to Kugelman, dated October 9, 1866, indicates that Marx had sent copies of the Geneva resolutions to America — probably to Weydemeyer and Edward Schlegel — the latter a German Socialist of great ability who took a prominent part in the Baltimore convention.

throughout the civilized world. It is rather because the Socialist movement of the world partakes of the temper and spirit of Marx. Not only did Marx provide the movement of the proletariat with weapons forged upon the anvil of his wonderful intellect, but he also planned its campaigns and outlined its tactics and policies. Working under enormous disadvantages, very often far removed from the actual battlefield, and living in exile, he nevertheless managed to impress his thought upon the movement and to dominate it completely. That he made mistakes is true, but when all the circumstances are taken into account it is surprising that there should be so few of these of any serious moment.

When he wrote to his friend Bracke, in the letter which accompanied his criticism of the Gotha Programme, that "every step of real movement is of more importance than a dozen programmes," Marx gave us the key to all his practical work in connection with the development of a political movement of the proletariat. If we except a few instances of minor importance when the bitterness of personal controversy warped his judgment, all his political life was consistent with the thought that the actual movement of the workers should never be subordinated to theoretic considerations.

Marx was, in fact, a good deal of an opportunist, and of the two wings of the present day Socialist movement, popularly denoted as "Opportunist" and "Impossibilist" respectively, the former is much more truly Marxian than the latter, at least in its fundamental principles. In its application of those principles the opportunist wing of the present day Socialist movement may at times cease to be Marxist, or even Socialist of any description, being scarcely or not at all distinguishable from bourgeois reformers. Theoretically they are Marxists as regards political tactics, but Marx, opportunist that he was, never ceased to be first and foremost a Socialist and a revolutionist.

That Marx can be fairly described as an opportunist is abundantly shown by the statement in the letter to Bracke, and by

the efforts he made through the International to unite the workers upon a programme of practical reforms. The Marx of this later period was in many important respects a very different person from the Marx of 1848. Then, in the *Communist Manifesto,* he could treat such reforms as the Ten Hours Act with cold reserve, but in 1864, in the inaugural address of the International, he described that particular reform as a great moral victory, an important step toward the regeneration of the working class. The *Manifesto* makes it perfectly plain that in 1847 Marx viewed that and other reforms in quite another light. Then he could write that the " real fruit " of such victories was not an actual improvement in the conditions of life enjoyed by the workers, but the " ever expanding union of the workers "—a gain in class solidarity. The thought is almost pitifully immature compared to that of seventeen years later.

In like manner, in 1851, in *The Eighteenth Brumaire,* Marx referred in a very disparaging manner to the English Cooperative Societies, but in the inaugural address of the International the development of the Cooperative Societies is celebrated as a great achievement of the working class, a victory in fact. These are illustrations of the manner in which, while steadfastly adhering to the fundamental idea of the necessity of a working-class party — an idea derived from his conception of the historic rôle of the working class and the existence of a great class struggle in society — his thought was more mature, and his political wisdom had greatly ripened. Socialism, on its practical, political side, must conform to the thought of this later period, not to the youthful and immature expressions of the *Communist Manifesto,* if it would claim the sanction of Marx's maturest thought. The sagacity and practical statesmanship manifested by the efforts to unite the radical elements of the middle class with the workers, under the political conditions then prevailing in Europe, and the wise philosophic comprehension of those movements of the working class which, while stopping far

short of Socialism in their aims, materially advanced its interests and fighting powers, contrast in a most striking manner with some of the expressions of a raw, crude radicalism, which Marx manifested in his youth, but learned to regard with contempt.

From the very beginning of his political life Marx set himself against those who would make theoretical agreement a condition for practical association. That was his attitude in connection with the Communist League, and it remained his attitude throughout his life. Thus at Cologne, in 1848, he and Engels joined the existing Democratic society, consisting of middle-class radicals, and did not attempt to form a new society with a theoretical basis which they could approve. The same attitude was adopted in connection with the International, and his advice in connection with the Gotha congress of the German Socialists that a simple agreement for common action should be concluded, leaving the formulation of a programme of principles in abeyance for a time, since the two factions could not then agree upon a satisfactory programme, shows that Marx held consistently to that position. It is impossible, of course, to say with certainty that Marx, were he alive to-day, would do thus and so, but it seems a fair inference from the facts of his life that in England, for example, his sympathies would be with the Labour Party, despite its lack of a satisfactory theoretical programme, rather than with the Social Democratic Party, which, despite its admirable theoretical programme, practically considered, remains a mere sect.[1]

It scarcely needs saying that Marx and his great coworker Engels were far from indifferent to the value and impor-

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[1] Perhaps it is prudent to explain here that this conjecture must not be regarded as implying agreement with all that the Labour Party's representatives in Parliament do — or with their non-action. It is quite certain that Marx would be a thorn in the flesh to many of the Labour Party leaders. What is meant is that the Labour Party in England seems to represent the real *movement* of the workers which Marx regarded as being vastly more important than theoretical correctness.

tance of a correct theoretical basis for the propaganda of the revolutionary proletarian movement. Those impatient opportunists who seek to prove the contrary by reference to the attitude of Marx in the practical movement, and by citing passages which emphasize the importance of the actual movement over all theoretical considerations, must either be very disingenuous or stupidly blind to the consistency and vigour with which he insisted upon the necessity of a correct theoretical understanding as an essential part of the equipment of whoever aspired to a position of leadership in the working-class movement. None ever recognized more fully than Marx that a correct understanding of the laws of social development and of political economy is imperatively necessary as a foundation for the formulation of correct policies for the practical movement. All that can with truth be said is that he recognized the futility of expecting or insisting upon either complete theoretical understanding or agreement as a condition of party membership or of practical cooperation in the movement.

His opposition to the Gotha Programme shows clearly enough the importance which Marx attached to correct theory. In any country where Socialism is a growing political power it is quite evident that only a minority of those who by their votes proclaim their adherence to the movement could give a satisfactory exposition of its theoretical basis. The great majority of the Socialist voters of Germany, France, England or America, it is safe to say, know little or nothing of the materialistic conception of history, and have only the vaguest possible notions of the theory of surplus value. They are drawn to the movement because they see in its programme hope of relief from the evils of their lot, and because the ideal, the ultimate aim, of the movement attracts them.

In many ways the creation of the International stands out as the greatest achievement of Marx upon the field of practical politics. And the decline of that organization was so rapid and ignominious, its life so short and its real accomplishments so

few and small in comparison with the hopes and the fears it evoked and the noise it made, that not a few critics have shown a disposition to treat it as a great blot upon the life of Marx, whom they hold responsible for its colossal and tragic failure.

It is, however, exceedingly puerile criticism which holds Marx responsible for the early decline and dissolution of the International. A candid and intelligent study of the causes which led to its destruction will show that they arose from political developments in Europe with which neither Marx nor any of his associates had anything to do, and for which they could not in any manner, either directly or indirectly, be held responsible. The most effective cause was the Franco-Prussian war, with its tragic sequel, the Paris Commune. To charge Marx with responsibility for these events is, of course, absurd in the extreme. As we know, he did his best to create a public sentiment against the war in France and Germany strong enough to prevent it, and that he failed in this is not to his discredit. As it was, the war created conditions which made the failure of the International an imperative historical necessity, and it was even believed by many that Bismarck had contrived to bring about a war with that end in view.

Although the International was not responsible for the Paris Commune, it was closely associated with it, and it was therefore perfectly natural that some of the odium which was provoked by that insurrection should be heaped upon the International, and especially upon its founder and chief directing spirit. Marx, it is quite evident from his correspondence with Kugelmann, saw the Parisian revolt through the spectacles of a rose-hued Utopianism. He believed that through the Parisian struggle the fight of the working classes against the capitalists "entered into a new phase." He wrote on the 17th of April, 1871, "This insurrection is a glorious deed for our party, the best since the Revolution of June, and the grandeur appears the greater when we think of all the vices of the old society, of its wolves, its swine, and its common hounds." In the year

following he and Engels wrote a preface to a new edition of the *Communist Manifesto,* in which they said, " The Commune notably offers a proof that the working class cannot simply take possession of the state machinery and set it in motion for their own aims." Such was their disillusionment. Twenty-three years later, in 1895, in the preface to *The Class War in France,* Engels set forth his reasons for believing that the steady growth of Socialism could best be secured by peaceful, parliamentary activity, that the time for " revolutions of small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses " was past, and that violent revolution would necessarily result in checking the progress of the movement.

While it is true that Marx attached far too much importance to the revolt of Paris, it is also true that, under the circumstances, the International could not have held aloof from the Commune, and that it pursued practically the only policy possible for it. Marx was placed in a position of great difficulty. Living in London, and depending for his view of the situation upon the reports of others, who were not always the most judicial observers, he had to play the proverbially difficult rôle of an adviser from afar. On the one hand much of the advice given under these circumstances was wasted, and, on the other hand, he has been held responsible for all that was done, though much of it was contrary to what he regarded as the best policy to pursue. But no amount of criticism can detract from the merit of having created such a great international political movement of the proletariat as the International Workingmen's Association was.

But while the International was Marx's greatest single achievement upon the field of practical politics, it is only fair to recognize that the service he rendered, during many years, as the adviser of the Socialist movement, was of even greater importance. For many years, practically from 1848 to 1883, the year of his death, he was constantly called upon to advise the Socialists of various countries upon matters of policy, and

to carry on negotiations between the different Socialist parties and between Socialists and other working-class organisations. It is impossible to present the *corpus* of this work in the form of a definite, tangible achievement, but it may be said that the development of a multitude of small sectarian and conspiratory societies into the great political Socialist movement of to-day has been due in no small measure to the political genius of Marx. When it was proposed, a few years ago, that the Socialists of Europe and America should raise funds for the erection of a monument to his memory, in Highgate Cemetery, one of the oldest of his friends wrote to the present writer: "Marx's monument exists already — not in hammered brass or sculptured stone, but in human hearts. The whole international Socialist movement is his monument, and each new victory of the Socialist forces raises it higher."

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As an economist Marx belongs to the Ricardian school, and his most notable achievement in the domain of political economy is his development of the crude labour-value theory held by some of the Ricardian Socialists and its scientific restatement. Notwithstanding the fact that between the labour-value theory of Marx and that of the English Socialists of the Ricardian school there yawns a gulf of difference as wide as that which divides the work of Darwin, for example, from the crude guesswork of Anaximander, it is common to find even the most pretentious of his critics charging Marx with all the immature notions of his predecessors. We have a conspicuous example of this in the work of Mr. W. H. Mallock, an English writer who has managed, despite his superficiality, to earn an international reputation as a serious and profound critic of Marx and the Socialist movement. During his visit to the United States in 1907, in a series of lectures delivered in the leading universities, Mr. Mallock gave the most grotesque and misleading account of the economic theories of Marx. It is not too much to say that the Socialists of America were highly amused — and as

much surprised as amused — at the stupid travesty of Marx's teaching so sententiously presented by Mr. Mallock, and so seriously received by the capitalist press as a damaging criticism of modern Socialism.

Mr. Mallock represented Marx as teaching that all wealth is due to "that ordinary manual labour which brings the sweat to the brow of the ordinary labouring man";[1] that wealth "not only ought to be, but actually can be distributed amongst a certain class of persons, namely, the labourers. . . . Because these labourers comprise in the acts of labour everything that is involved in the production of it";[2] that "ordinary manual labour is the source of all wealth,"[3] and that "all productive effort is absolutely equal in productivity."[4] Each of these statements he repeated over and over, and upon them he based his entire criticism of Marx. It ought to be obvious to the astute gentlemen of the National Civic Federation that if Marx really taught or believed such arrant nonsense he would not merit the slightest attention as a thinker. It is quite inconceivable that the international Socialist movement could have made such gigantic strides in the world's politics if it rested upon such absurd theoretical foundations.

But as a matter of fact, there is not the slightest foundation for either of the statements quoted, or for the criticism based upon them. There is not a single passage in all the voluminous writings of Marx which in the slightest degree warrants the statements made by his critic. In fact, Marx specifically repudiated each of the notions ascribed to him by Mr. Mallock, and subjected them to keen ridicule. Mr. Mallock insulted the

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Note: All quotations are taken from the volume containing the text of Mr. Mallock's lectures as delivered, entitled *Socialism*, published and distributed by the National Civic Federation, New York, 1907.

[1] Lecture I, page 12.

[2] *Idem*, page 7.

[3] *Idem*, page 6; Lecture IV, pages 76, 81; Lecture V, page 115, etc.

[4] *Idem*, Lecture III, page 46.

intelligence of every one of his auditors when he so outrageously misrepresented Marx.

As we have already seen, Marx was exceedingly angry when the Gotha Programme of the German Socialists was adopted, because of the phrase " Labour is the source of all wealth and of all culture." An element of bitterness entered into his criticism of the programme for the reason that he knew perfectly well that in the popular mind, and in the minds of his critics, he would be held responsible for the programme and charged with its absurdities. Instead of divorcing the concept of wealth from the concept of utility, Marx always insisted that they could not be separated. Material wealth consists of use-values, and Nature is just as much the source of these use-values as is human labour. If one takes such different units of wealth as a ton of coal, a gun and a table, it is at once apparent that to speak of labour as the " sole cause " of their existence, ignoring the natural elements which enter into their composition, would be foolish in the extreme. Each of these widely-varying commodities is a use-value resulting from the application of human labour to natural resources, and to ignore these natural resources, as we must if we are to speak of labour as the sole source of value, would be absurd. And that absurdity Marx never committed.

But wealth in modern society does not consist of simple use-values. Social use-value, not simple use-value, is the essence of wealth in capitalistically developed countries. A man may own an abundance of simple use-values and yet be very poor. For example, a manufacturer of tables may be poor precisely because of the large number of tables in his stock unsold. Each of the tables may be admirably suited to the purpose for which it was made, a simple use-value. But one table, or at most a very small number of tables, is all that the manufacturer needs for his own use. Unless, therefore, other persons should desire to own the surplus tables, making them social use-values and thus giving them an exchange-value, they must remain valueless

and keep the manufacturer poor, notwithstanding their excellence as primary use-values. Social use-value, or utility, is therefore the basis of exchange-value.

Now, it is perfectly obvious that the objective of capitalistic production is not the creation of simple use-values, but of exchange-values. Commodities are produced, not for use primarily, but for sale at a profit. No matter how useful a thing may be, unless its utility is social, giving it an exchange-value, no capitalist bothers with its production. Social use-values, then, have the quality of exchangeability. They can be exchanged one for another. If we take our three commodities, the ton of coal, the gun and the table, we shall find that they bear a certain relative value in exchange. Utterly unlike each other, as dissimilar in appearance as in the purpose for which they are intended, they nevertheless may possess equal value in exchange, any one of them exchanging for either of the others.

To discover the source of this economic value is the fundamental problem with which the political economist must concern himself. Before Marx practically all the great English economists, from Petty to Ricardo and his followers, taught that labour was the source and determinant of value. Thus it was that the early Ricardian Socialists, whose ideas Marx is often said to have adopted, taught a doctrine very similar to that which Mr. Mallock has ascribed to Marx. They were practically compelled by the fundamental conditions of their theory to contend that all productive effort is of equal productivity. They based an ethic of distribution upon their fundamental idea, claiming that wealth is derived exclusively from human labour and should, therefore, belong to the labourers. Marx, on the other hand, could make no such claim for the labourers, since he recognized other elements than their labour in the composition of wealth. He was not concerned with the ethics of distribution at all, and was under no obligation to contend that a day's labour of an inefficient worker was of the same value

as that of an efficient one, or a day's labour by a skilled artisan no more valuable than the labour of a coolie labourer for an equal period of time.

Critics innumerable have deemed it a sufficient refutation of Marx to point out that a slow and inefficient worker may take two or three times as long a time to make a coat, for example, as a quick and efficient worker would take to make one exactly like it; and that the coat made by the quick and efficient worker will bring exactly as much in the market as that which represents twice as large an expenditure of labour time. If Marx were the most addlepated writer that ever lived, his "refutation" could not be more easily accomplished!

The only objection to this criticism is the fact that it is wholly irrelevant, that it in nowise applies to the Marxian theory. According to Marx, the value of a commodity is *not* determined by the amount of actual labour embodied in it. Had the critics read Marx with reasonable care, they would know that the theory of value they attack is not his; that he completely exposed its absurdity, and that of its corollary, the doctrine that all productive effort is of equal productivity. Marx teaches that the value of commodities is determined, not by the amount of labour actually embodied in them, but by the amount of abstract labour they represent — or, better, by the amount of social labour necessary, on the average, for its production. Instead of the crude formula of the Ricardian Socialists, that the value of all commodities is determined by the amount of labour embodied in them, Marx gives us this: *The value of commodities is determined by the amount of social labour necessary, on an average, for their production.*

To the question, How is this determined in the process of exchange? Marx responds, in the words of Adam Smith, By the bargaining and higgling of the market. He does not claim that the amount of social labour necessary for their production is determined accurately and absolutely in individual cases, but approximately in general. No human intellect could possibly

unravel the tangled skein of social labour involved in the manufacture of the simplest commodities. It would be absurd to contend that the buyer in the market makes elaborate calculations of the amount of labour necessary to the production of this, that or the other commodity. We know that buyers do nothing of the sort, and Marx nowhere contends that they do. He points out, on the contrary, that the process is unconscious and automatic.

Nor is it a criticism of Marx's theory of value to point out, as many critics, following Böhm-Bawerk, have done, that a man may find a lump of gold, and so, in a few moments, secure as much wealth as would ordinarily take him years to acquire. The criticism has force only when directed against the crude labour-value theory which Marx did so much to destroy. The very terms in which Marx states his theory of value provides the answer to this criticism. The value of the lump of gold will be determined, not by the infinitesimal quantity of labour required to pick it up from the ground, but by the amount of labour necessary on an average to procure an equal amount of the precious metal.

Again, some of Marx's critics point to what may be called unique values, or scarcity values, articles which cannot be reproduced by labour, and whose value is wholly independent of the amount of labour originally necessary to produce them. It needs no argument, however, to show that no criticism of Marx's theory can be based upon such grounds. The criticism is ruled out by the terms of the theory itself, has been amply answered by Marx, and was answered by Ricardo before him. Autograph letters, great auks' eggs, rare manuscripts, Stradivarius violins, Caxton books and Napoleon snuff-boxes — such articles as these cannot be duplicated by human labour. That is to say, no possible amount of human labour could reproduce the exact utilities in them, the qualities which give them their peculiar value. A perfect copy of a Shakespeare letter, of a snuff-box belonging to Napoleon, however perfect the re-

production might be as regards physical properties, could not reproduce the sentimental quality, the association with the fingers of Shakespeare or Napoleon, which gives the article its special utility.

Finally, Marx not only recognized the exception to the law of value in the case of unique values, but he also recognized that there are other exceptions — especially in the case of monopolies and near-monopolies, which enable the vendors to control the market, exclude effective competition and set the law of value aside, so to speak. Marx not only pointed out this fact, but he also pointed out that the workers are exploited, under these conditions, in the circulation of commodities as well as in their circulation, and that this " secondary exploitation " of the workers must become more and more important as competition is outgrown and monopoly reached.[1]

Except for his greater clarity and precision of statement, Marx hardly differs from Ricardo in his treatment of value. In a well-known passage, Ricardo clearly develops the concept of social labour, and shows that the amount of labour necessary to the production of a commodity, rather than the amount actually embodied in it, determines its value. Taking stockings as an example, he includes in the term " quantity of human labour," not merely the total labour of those immediately concerned in the making of stockings, from the cultivation of the raw cotton to the making of the stockings in the factory, but all the indirect labour involved, even in the making and navigation of the ships, the building of the factories and machinery, and so on.[2] Marx follows Ricardo and still further develops these ideas, and all criticisms of his economic teaching which rest upon the assumption that he regards the simple, direct labour actually embodied in commodities as the determinant of their value fall of their own weight.

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[1] See, for instance, *Capital,* Vol. III, Chapter XXXVI.

[2] David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation,* Chapter I, III.

A theory of value which has obtained considerable popularity in recent years, and is held, even by some Socialists, to have rendered obsolete the labour-value theory of Marx, is the so-called Austrian theory of final, or marginal, utility. This theory, which is of English, not Austrian origin, as Professor Seligman has ably and clearly demonstrated,[1] is in reality only the old theory that value is determined by the relation of supply and demand. To hold, as most writers seem to do, Socialists and non-Socialists alike, that the two theories are mutually exclusive, seems to the present writer to be a grave mistake. Rather, they seem to be complementary to each other. Menger, Jevons, and other exponents of the marginal utility theory, hold that value is determined by power to give satisfaction, while Marx holds that it is determined by the amount of labour socially necessary for the production of the object of value. At first thought these two concepts seem to be antagonistic, but closer study reveals the fact that the antagonism is more apparent than real. It resolves itself into a difference of terminology rather than of essential meaning. On the one hand, Marx regards utility as a necessary condition of value, and holds that social utility alone gives rise to exchange-value. On the other hand, Menger, Jevons, and their followers admit that the " final utility " of commodities is not, in actual practice, determined without regard to the labour necessary, on an average, for their production. Professor Jevons himself recognized that the two theories were not mutually exclusive. He says in one passage of his celebrated work that his theory of final utility leads " directly to the well-known law, as stated in the ordinary language of economists, that value is proportional to the cost of production." [2] It will be remembered, too, that he rests his whole logical structure ultimately upon labour, making

[1] Seligman, *On Some Neglected British Economists,* in the *Economic Journal,* Vol. XIII, pages 357-363.

[2] *Theory of Political Economy,* by W. S. Jevons. Third edition, page 186.

it the final determinant of value. The relation of labour to value Jevons expresses in tabular form, as follows:

> "*Cost of production determines supply;*
> *Supply determines final degree of utility;*
> *Final degree of utility determines value.*"

Could anything be clearer than that according to this reasoning, labour, and not utility, is the final determinant of value? If A, cost of production, causes B, supply, and B in turn causes C, final degree of utility, which causes D, value, is not A the ultimate cause of D? Upon the principle that the greater contains the lesser quantity, it may be said that the Ricardo-Marx theory of value contains all that is useful and true in the much-vaunted theory of final, or marginal utility.

With regard to the Marxian theory of surplus-value it is perhaps pertinent to remark that while many of his followers and expositors seem to think that he was the first to discover the fact that the capitalistic economy is an economy of surplus-value, by many of his critics he is accused of taking it, without acknowledgment, from obscure writers. These critics deny his title to the slightest originality just as emphatically as his most enthusiastic followers claim for him absolute originality. The fact is, of course, that Marx was neither the first to discern that the objective of capitalistic production is surplus-value, nor a crow strutting in borrowed peacock plumes. Many other writers before him, both French and English, had recognised that the secret of capitalism is the extraction of surplus-value from the labour-power of the workers. The term itself had long been in use before Marx adopted it. As Marx himself has pointed out, it was used by an anonymous pamphleteer, in an open letter to Lord John Russell, published in London as far back as 1821. By the time Marx came to take an active interest in political economy the term was in very general use by the English radicals of the time, the radical literature of "the

hungry forties" shows that it was generally used and understood.

Marx's claim to originality in connection with the development of the theory, considered as a matter of political economy, rests upon his analysis of the method of extracting the surplus-value from the labour-power of the workers. And though that is no small contribution to the development of political economy, and entitles him to a place among the great masters of the science, such as Sir William Petty, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and others, it is less important, upon the whole, than his masterly development of the *sociological* side of surplus-value, the rôle it fills in social evolution. Great economist that he was, Marx was first and foremost a sociologist. His treatment of the economics of surplus-value may be rejected, even by Socialists, but his exposition of the part surplus-value plays in social evolution stands as one of the greatest contributions to human thought and knowledge.

Shortly before his death, when he was at last convinced that he could not hope for recovery, Marx called the attention of his youngest daughter, Eleanor, to the unfinished and fragmentary manuscripts of the second and third volumes of *Capital.* He spoke of them regretfully, but without a trace of bitterness, as a man who felt that he had failed in his life's work. He directed that the manuscripts should be turned over to Engels. "Perhaps he will be able to make something of them," he said. How skilfully and faithfully Engels dealt with the mass of manuscript fragments is known to every reader of the two volumes, the title pages of which bear the characteristically modest legend, "Edited by Frederick Engels." Volume II was published in 1885, but Volume III did not appear until the end of 1894.

The share of Engels in these two volumes was much larger and more important than that suggested by the title pages; he was more than an editor, as that term is usually employed, and might better be described as part-author. It is almost impos-

sible to say where the work of Engels joins that of Mark, so perfectly are they blended. No other man, it is safe to say, could possibly have accomplished the task which Engels accomplished under the difficulties which he describes in the preface to the third volume. Dr. George Adler has well said, in the *Arbeiterzeitung*, of Vienna:

"The publication of the second and third volume of *Capital* was the last great gift of Engels to the proletariat. We speak of it as a 'publication,' but it was really a new creation; in spite of the fact that Engels, with that modesty which is only the possession of great spirits, always belittled his activity as compared to that of his friend. He has, as no other could have done, followed the course of thought through the fragments, extracts and observations that were left behind, and completed the last two volumes of *Capital*. The greater part of the material was, so far as the form of the language was concerned, merely hastily thrown together, a simple jotting down of the thoughts as they passed through the mind of Marx — not arranged; in some cases almost completely worked out, in others merely fixed by catchwords, partly German, partly English and French, often almost illegibly written. To follow out the method laid down in the first book, which dealt with the process of production in a masterly analysis of the process of circulation of capital, and develop from the material left behind the further course of surplus-value, the division of profit into rent and entrepreneur wage, and the doctrine of ground rent, was a task that not only required the highest physical exertion, but a brain power not inferior to that of the original composer. Engels was the only one capable of this, for no other living person was so in accord with the author in the method of reasoning and the views, to the smallest details, of the relations involved in the development of capitalism. In the last two volumes of *Capital* Engels erected to the memory of Marx a more enduring monument than any cast in bronze, and, without so intending, carved upon it in imperishable letters his own name as well. Just as in life Marx and Engels were inseparable, so *Capital* cannot bear the name of either alone, but must always be known in the history of political economy as the *Capital* of Marx and Engels. And although Engels has marked with brackets and his initials,

F. E., the places where he has 'taken the actual material left by Marx and developed it to the necessary conclusion in as much as possible the Marxian spirit,' yet no man can ever say which came from the spirit of Marx and which from the spirit of Engels."

After Marx's death there was a general tendency among European economists, particularly those of Germany and Austria, to discredit him by making it appear that he had taken his theory of value from Rodbertus, and was little better than a charlatan. So, in the preface to the second volume of *Capital,* Engels issued a rather sensational challenge to these critics and defamers of Marx. If, as they claimed, there was nothing new in Marx, that Rodbertus had long before taught all that was worthy of note in Marx's teachings, Engels suggested that by the aid of the writings of Rodbertus, supplemented by the two volumes of Marx's work, they ought to be able to answer the conundrum he propounded to them. This was the conundrum: "Explain how an equal average rate of profit can and must come about, not only without a violation of the law of value, but by means of it." Let them see if they could provide the answer before the publication of Marx's third volume, in which, they were told, the answer would be found.

This challenge gave rise to a veritable international competition, which at times degenerated into a sort of guessing contest. Some of the most fantastic notions in the whole history of political economy were seriously offered as solutions of the problem, but, as Engels shows in the preface to the third volume, the only persons who came near to a correct solution were some of Marx's own followers, who relied, not upon Rodbertus, but upon Marx. When at last the third volume appeared, after repeated delays — which had caused more than one critic gravely to suggest that there was no third volume, that Engels was deliberately fooling his readers in order to save the reputation of Marx — the critics were so staggered

by what seemed to them to be a serious modification of the views expressed in the earlier volumes, if not an absolute abandonment of them, that they raised the cry that Marx had in the third volume flatly denied the theories propounded in the first. They were rather discomfited when it was shown that Marx had made elaborate notes for the third volume, and laid down all its main conclusions, long before the first volume was published. Indeed, he had done much of it before he began the actual writing of the first volume. Under these circumstances it was impossible for them to contend that Marx had consciously modified his position; that he had, to use the words of one of these critics, " reasoned himself out of his theory of value and so, like the honest thinker he was, abandoned it." No. There was another reason — Marx had involved himself in a serious and glaring contradiction. Here was the end of the Marxian system, a ludicrous *impasse.*

It would lead us too far from the purpose of this volume to enter at length into the merits of this controversy, and the reader must refer to the literature specially devoted to the subject.[1] It is pertinent to this attempt to evaluate the achievements of Marx, however, to consider briefly the charge that he involved himself in an absolute contradiction. We cannot ignore a question which resolves itself into an inquiry whether Marx was really a philosopher or a fool. There certainly appears, at first sight, to be a distinct modification in the third volume of the position taken in the first, and detached passages can be very easily quoted to sustain that view. Indeed,

[1] By far the strongest statement in support of the contention that there exists a vital contradiction between the first and third volumes of *Capital* is Böhm-Bawerk's *Karl Marx and the Close of His System,* which has been published in an English translation. On the other side of the question, accessible to the English reader, may be mentioned L. B. Boudin's *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx,* and H. M. Hyndman's *Economics of Socialism* (Fourth Edition, London, 1909), in both of which the subject is treated. Of course, Vol. III of *Capital* is indispensable.

Marx himself calls attention to the fact.[1] But the modification amounts to no more than this: In the earlier volumes, in order to elucidate the manner in which production is carried on for the purpose of securing surplus-value, he takes the individual capitalist and his relation to his employees, but in the third volume he is no longer dealing with the individual capitalist. Having shown how surplus-value is in general realized, he now proceeds to deal with the entire social capital and the partition of the total surplus-value produced by the entire working class of the nation. Failure to recognise this lies, in the judgment of the present writer, at the bottom of most of the concern over the " great contradiction " in Marx's theory. Instead of recognizing that in passing from the simple to the complex certain new factors have to be encountered and duly allowed for, much as the practical engineer knows that the abstract mathematical law of the parallelogram of the forces can be applied only by making allowances for friction, resistance, and so on,[2] critics persist in regarding the problem of the partition of the total surplus-value derived from the unpaid labour of all the workers, among all the various capitals employed, from this simple point of view of the individual capitalist and his relations to his own employees.

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The so-called Revisionists within the Socialist movement in Germany and elsewhere, despite a not unnatural tendency to depreciate Marx and exalt themselves as his superiors, have rendered great service to the memory of Marx by throwing the strong light of criticism upon his theories and revealing their strength. As Marx was human and fallible, the Revisionists have naturally been able to detect flaws and errors in his work, but these are surprisingly few and small in view of the scope and magnitude of his work. They have shown that he overrated both the rate and the extent of capitalist concentration.

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[1] *Capital,* Vol. III, page 194. English translation.
[2] Hyndman, *Economics of Socialism* (Fourth Edition) page viii.

So much all except those fanatical " Marxists " who seek to make Marx a sort of Socialist Pope, clothed with infallibility, will cheerfully admit. Of course, some of these critics have themselves been misled into believing that wealth is much more widely distributed than it is. Statistics relating to the number of shareholders in companies and corporations, and the number of bank depositors, are particularly deceptive and hide the real facts as completely as if they were designed for that purpose and no other.

The concentration of wealth and industrial capital may not proceed as rapidly as Marx believed it would, but that it does proceed admits of no reasonable doubt. The accumulation of immense private fortunes, and the growth of great trusts and monopolies are facts which admit of no other interpretation. Only in the domain of agricultural industry is there a well marked tendency in an opposite direction. The great bonanza farms are giving place to relatively small farms. Marx unquestionably predicted the opposite of this — the success of great factory farms which would entirely crush out the small farms. Still, as several Socialists, including the present writer, have shown, there is a very real concentration going on in connection with our agricultural industry, though it takes forms entirely undreamed by Marx. The apparently free and independent farmers are more and more dependent upon railroad companies, elevator companies, canning companies, trust-owned creameries, and so on. Despite this, however, it is undeniable that Marx made a great mistake — perhaps the greatest of his mistakes — in predicting the rapid extinction of the small farm.

It may also be freely admitted that there is some reason to believe that he was mistaken in his belief that the small shopkeepers and other classes of the petty bourgeoisie would soon become extinct. Petty investors and small storekeepers undoubtedly do persist, and even increase in numbers. What the critics who gloat over this fact fail to perceive is that petty

retailers, mere attendants upon the city proletariat, are themselves little more than proletarians in everything but name. And the same may be said concerning the petty trades. No one who is at all familiar with the subject will contend that the vast majority of these small stores and petty industries yield to those engaged in them much, if any, more than the ordinary wage-earner receives. Nor is their position more secure than that of the average industrial proletariat, for they are always at the mercy of the great commercial and industrial concerns which are ever alert to seize anything that these gleaners of the fields may gather, if it be worth seizing. And these facts give to this class common political interests with the proletariat. Hence, the practical outcome is not, after all, very different from that which Marx foretold.[1]

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When all is said that can be said concerning the mistakes of Marx, he remains a great historic figure of world-wide importance. Whatever modifications of his theories may be rendered necessary by capitalist development, he must always be regarded as the real founder of modern scientific Socialism. His name rises like a great beacon in the modern world, a beacon which illumines millions of men and women in all the lands which capitalism has touched with its blight. He took the chaotic and despised elements of proletarian revolt and made of them the greatest political movement in history. With a fidelity and whole-heartedness equalled only by his great genius and learning he served the working class and made its cause and its struggle his own. And to-day, more than a quarter of a century after his death, the international movement of the proletariat is inspired by his great cry:

"Working men of all countries, Unite!"

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[1] For a more elaborate treatment of this subject the reader is referred to my *Socialism, a Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles* (New and Revised Edition, 1909), Chapters V. and VI.

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